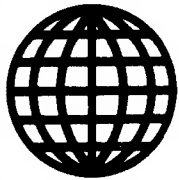


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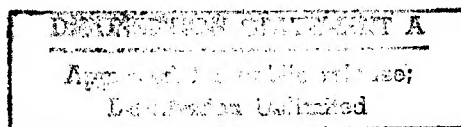


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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

### ***Political Affairs***



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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-88-011

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**Reader Asks: Is There No Negative Response to Gorbachev GOSR Speech?**

18000124a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 87 p 2

[Letter to PRAVDA from A. Loginov, candidate of historical sciences: "Examining History"]

[Text] The 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, a great and joyous celebration, is now history. Newspapers and television screens are filled with reports about the day-to-day lives of working people. That is only natural. Nevertheless I felt a need to return again and again to the ceremonial session in Moscow, to M. S. Gorbachev's report. To the interpretation of that report by the media and to the response which we have read.

I listened to the report twice, then read it in the newspaper, pencil in hand. I found confirmation for many of my own ideas. For example, concerning the evolution of the command-bureaucratic style in the mid-1920's and the causes of a phenomenon like the I. V. Stalin personality cult. In my opinion, the basis for the personality cult were various theoretical errors on the part of Stalin, errors which could not develop into decisive factors during V. I. Lenin's lifetime, as well as Stalin's personal qualities.

The extraordinary nature of the report and its wealth of ideas are evident. It is also evident that attitudes abroad toward it and toward our celebration will vary. So I would like to hear, see and read various opinions and compare them with reality. But what do I find instead?

I carefully read *Pravda*, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and *Leningradskaya Pravda*, and in all these press organs there is an amazing "unanimity" of world public opinion. Nothing but melodies in major tones. Can it really be that that is the only evaluation of our party's new document in the whole world? And have no questions been asked within our own country, either? Has the class struggle come to an end? Why can we not bridle the arms race and achieve guarantees of peaceful coexistence with states with different social systems? In this connection I would like to mention the meeting of representatives of more than 100 countries who came to our country to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution; at that meeting attention was focused on questions of war and peace and of the survival of humanity.

Of what do correspondents hope to convince me by vying with each other to present only positive responses? Or are they perhaps trying to preserve peace and mental comfort? No, I do not want to hide, I want to hear the opponent's arguments.

Today the press, like the entire propaganda system, is performing highly complex tasks; it is not only working for restructuring, but is itself following the path of glasnost and democratization. It is quite clear that that is the only correct path for it to follow. Let us be consistent always, and to the end!

12825

**Moldavian Supreme Soviet Session Reported**

**Central Press Summary**

18000149a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by E. Kondratov, IZVESTIYA correspondent: "The Moldavian SSR"]

[Text] Kishinev. The session considered questions concerning the State Plan for the republic's economic and social development for next year and the fulfillment of the assignments for the current year, and the concerning the State Budget in 1988 and its execution last year.

In the report given by V. Kutyarkin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's Gosplan, it was reported, in addition to the figures that correspond to the topic, that 35-40 percent of the production list at enterprises for next year is being determined by the enterprises themselves, without any instructions or pressure. In the forthcoming year one-third of all the enterprises, which produce almost one-half the industrial output, will be operating under complete cost accounting and self-financing.

The statements made by the deputies during the discussion period were sharp and constructive. In particular they criticized the draft version of the plan for the lack of clarity in the section dealing with the protection of the environment, and for the disproportions between the development of the material-technical base and the working conditions in rural areas.

Deputies A. Bulpe, V. Voronin, and Yu. Popescu devoted their statements to shortcomings in the work of fulfilling the voters' mandates.

Deputies M. Popov, N. Matish, and others spoke about the inadmissibility of the unrealistic, volitional planning of production, as well as of agricultural procurements without taking into consideration the resource capabilities of the regions or the providing of material-technical support.

The reports given by the state agencies to the deputies had never been as long or as complicated for those agencies. As early as October, during the preparation for the session, eight deputy subcommissions listened to reports given by all the ministries, glavks [main administrations], and rayon and city ispolkoms. And now, during the session, this collegial work of improving next year's socioeconomic program was continued.

The session approved the 1988 plan and budget, and enacted decrees dealing with other questions.

5075

**Academician Criticizes Environmental Record**  
*18000149b Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 14 Nov 87 p 1*

[ATEM report: "Along the Path of Socialism"]

[Excerpts] On 13 November the 8th Session of the Supreme Soviet of Moldavian SSR, 11th Convocation, opened. Participants welcomed with applause the following deputies: Comrades N. F. Bondarchu, S. K. Gorossu, G. I. Yeremey, I. P. Kalin, A. A. Mokuanu, A. N. Sangeli, V. F. Semenov, V. I. Smirnov, N. A. Tsyu, G. M. Volkov, and V. V. Runkovskiy; G. A. Shipilov, responsible worker, CPSU Central Committee; and V. S. Malinnikov, responsible worker, apparatus of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The session was opened by deputy I. K. Cheban, chairman of MoSSR Supreme Soviet.

A report on the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of Moldavian SSR in 1988 and the rate of plan fulfillment in 1987 was given by V. G. Kurtyrkin, deputy chairman of MoSSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the republic's Gosplan.

A report on the MoSSR State Budget for 1988 and the execution of the budget in 1986 was given by deputy A. L. Budyanu, MSSR minister of finance.

A joint report by the Budgetary Planning and other permanent commissions of MoSSR Supreme Soviet was given by deputy D. G. Gutsu, deputy chairman of the Budgetary Planning Commission.

The floor was given to G. I. Yeremey, chairman of the Moldavian Republic Council of Trade Unions, deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The next speaker was A. A. Zhurchenko, president of MoSSR Academy of Sciences, deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The Academy of Sciences, he said, had considered the draft version of the republic's State Plan for 1988 and it felt that that draft reflected the basic concepts of the 27th CPSU Congress and the new economic and social policy that had been worked out at the July 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. At the same time, however, the draft version of the plan, in the opinion of the Academy of Sciences, also contains a number of unresolved problems. Several of them are predetermined by objective conditions, inasmuch as, over a period of several years, the wide-scale restructuring of the system of administering the economy will coexist with the old mechanism (the pricing system, the finance-credit mechanism, etc.). Other shortcomings in the draft version of the plan are linked with the lagging behind and the disproportions that were allowed to occur during the previous period. Some of them must be addressed specifically.

As is well known, even under conditions of the democratization of planning and the expansion of the rights and economic independence of enterprises, the functions of guaranteeing the proportional and balanced development of the republic are retained by Gosplan. In this regard, when future work is being done on the draft version of the plan, it would be desirable to intensify the areas where individual sections of the plan come into contact with one another, in order to lessen the disproportion that has already existed for a prolonged period of time between the development of the production sphere and the nonproduction sphere.

In the draft version of the 1988 plan one sees the further development of the tendency toward increasing the percentage of industrial production in the formation of the gross national product and the national income. The Academy of Sciences considers this strategic direction to be fundamentally correct, inasmuch as it guarantees an increase in the stability and the evenness of the development of the republic's entire national-economic complex and promotes the rise in the public's level of proficiency, the development of science and the educational sphere, and the bringing up of the technical level of the traditional branches of the national economy. However, one cannot fail to direct attention to the fact that during the past 20 years the materials-intensity of the gross national product in Moldavia rose steadily and in the 11th Five-Year Plan surpassed the average nationwide level. In this regard, in the structure of industry considerably more attention must be devoted to developing computer and microprocessor technology, radio technology, micro- and radio electronics, and biotechnology, that is, branches which are not materials-intensive, but science-intensive, and which determine the scientific-technical progress of the entire national economy.

Then the speaker dwelt in detail on the problems of implementation by the ministries and departments of the plan for development of science and technology, the reinforcement of the scientific potential of plant science efforts, the expansion of the network of designer and technological planning centers, and the creation of enterprises to produce small series of new technology and of branch scientific organizations under conditions of complete cost accounting and self-financing. He emphasized that the five-year plan for capital investments to carry out environmental-protection measures has been regularly unfulfilled, and a serious lag has been allowed to occur in reducing the dumping of polluted runoff water, as well as waste products from stationary and nonstationary sources. He recommended in this regard the introduction of the maximum amount of clarity in the plan section "Environmental Protection and the Efficient Use of Natural Resources." After the appropriate changes are made, the speaker said, the submitted draft version of the plan can be approved.

### Deputies Review Plan Prospects

18000149c Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in  
Russian 15 Nov 87 pp 1, 2

[ATEM report: "Along the Course of Restructuring,  
Along the Course of Renovation"]

[Excerpts] In order to report the results of the consideration by the Plan and Budget and other permanent commissions of MoSSR Supreme Soviet of the recommendations and comments expressed by the deputies during the course of the discussion of the republic's State Plan and State Budget for 1988, the floor is given to deputy D. G. Gutsu, deputy chairman of the Plan and Budget Commission of MoSSR Supreme Soviet.

On instructions from the MoSSR Supreme Soviet, the Plan and Budget Commission, with the participation of representatives of other permanent commissions, summarized the recommendations and comments expressed by the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet and MoSSR Supreme Soviet, and others who had spoken at this session, he said. In addition to an analysis of the statements, there were discussions with the deputies who had demonstrated their competency, self-interest, and high responsibility in their approach to questions of developing the branches of the national economy and the fulfillment, by ministries, department, and the ispolkoms of the rayon and city soviets of people's deputies, of the measures to create in the labor collectives the proper conditions for highly productive and effective labor, to implement the social programs, and to identify and eliminate the reasons and conditions that have been restraining the restructuring processes. It must be emphasized that this form of organizing the work of the commissions can be viewed completely correctly as an important lever for the further deepening and development of socialist democracy and the real involvement of the elected representatives of the nation in the resolution of state and social matters on a republic scale.

By way of a supplement to the joint report, the speaker requested the opportunity to inform the session briefly concerning the results of the work that they had done. First of all, he dwelt on the problem of the deputy mandates. The critical comments expressed in the statements by A. I. Vulpe and V. N. Voronin concerning the shortcomings in executing the legislation dealing with the organization of work with the voters' mandates were, unfortunately, not isolated ones. The commission directed the attention of the republic's Council of Ministers, ministries, state committees, departments, and executive committees of rayon and city soviets of people's deputies to the fact that, actually, certain mandates given to deputies of MoSSR Supreme Soviet have been carried over from convocation to convocation and have not been fulfilled over a period of 10-15 years. For the sake of being completely fair, it obviously must be admitted that the fate of several of them largely depends upon us deputies, upon the extent of reality with which the deputies, at the stage of formation of the mandates,

approach the evaluation of the economic possibilities for implementing them. But the topic of discussion today is those mandates which, after they have been accepted by the MoSSR Council of Ministers, are subject to mandatory execution.

It must be stated outright that there is a lack of proper procedure in this question. The 662 mandates given to the deputies to the MoSSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, and pertaining to the management of the republic agencies, must be unconditionally fulfilled within a single five-year period. And yet, during the past two and a half years, only one-third of the mandates have been fulfilled or are in the implementation stage. The worst situation pertains to the voters' mandates that are supposed to be executed by enterprises and organizations of Gosagroprom, MoSSR Ministry of Education and Ministry of Motor Transport, and Moldavian Trade Unions Council. The mandates pertaining to the management of the rayon and city ispolkoms are being executed slightly better. In this regard the commissions deem it necessary for the Council of Ministers, the ministries, state committees, and departments in the republic to analyze this question thoroughly and to report their results to the Presidium of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet by 1 April 1988.

The next group of comments and recommendations made by the deputies can be formulated as having been evoked by their state of unease concerning the lack today of the proper scientifically-substantiated planning in a number of branches of the national economy and territories in the republic. That was mentioned in the statement made by deputy M. Kh. Popov, when he spoke of the unrealistic nature of the planning of the production, procurements, and purchases of agricultural output without taking into consideration the resource capabilities of the regions, and in the statements of N. G. Mitish, A. A. Kravchuk, M. D. Dandesh, and others, who pointed out the imperfection in the planning of construction production and the lack of coordination between that planning and material-technical supply.

The commissions share the opinion of G. I. Yeremey and A. A. Zhuchenko, deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, concerning the shortcomings in providing a scientific substantiation for planning the sphere of the republic's sociocultural development, in supporting the measures specified in the comprehensive program for environmental protection and the efficient use of natural resources, and measures pertaining to other questions, and the commissions completely support the deputies.

V. N. Voronin, Yu. I. Popesku, and others emphasized the need to develop scientifically substantiated quotas for the shared participation by the enterprises and organizations in the formation of the local budgets and in the development of the sociocultural sphere. This is especially important under conditions of the changeover of the territories to providing themselves with all types of resources.

The commissions feel that Gosplan, Gosagroprom, the republic's ministries, state committees, and departments, and soviets of people's deputies must begin urgently to implement the previously mentioned recommendations and comments made by the deputies with regard to changing over the planning to a truly scientific basis, as is required by the decisions of the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The USSR Law Governing the State Enterprise (Association) goes into effect on 1 January 1988. Many branches of the republic's national economy have changed over, or are currently changing over, to the new management methods, and this will considerably expand their independence and eliminate petty guardianship on the part of the superior departments. This is a new situation and it is by no means completely clear to everyone in the outlying areas. As a result, the deputies to the permanent commissions feel that it is desirable to instruct the central economic agencies, particularly Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance, and the banks republics, by the end of the current year to prepare specific clarifications dealing with the prospects for removing the limitations in the economic-financial activity of the associations, enterprises, and organizations. This should promote the increase in their rate of participation, the demonstration of greater independence and social entrepreneurship, and the increase in responsibility for the final work results.

The deputies' statements contained a number of specific recommendations and comments pertaining to the 1988 plan and budget, the improvement of production and financial activity in the branches of the national economy, and the resolution of the problem of raising the standard of living and the social development of the republic's population. In particular, the attention of the republic's Gosplan and Minfin was drawn to the need to refine the quotas for increase and changeover to the progressive system of formation of the wage fund, to change the percentage of the deduction to be paid into the depreciation development fund, and to increase the production volumes for Ministry of Light Industry (S. A. Manukyan); the absolute necessity of coordinating the capital construction plan with the capacities of the construction organizations and human resources (deputy P. S. Mikhnevich); the failure to provide material resources to rural projects involving the construction of structures for social, cultural, and everyday needs by the in-house method (deputy V. F. Oglinda); problems of introducing into construction the new forms of management and incentive payments (deputy N. M. Omelyan); the insufficiently balanced state between the highway construction plan and the providing of material support (deputy I. S. Bolbat); the need to expand individual housing construction and to increase the shipments of building materials for sale to the public (deputies M. S. Guytu, V. F. Oglinda); the improvement of the variety of consumer products being produced, and especially fashionable articles, for the purpose of balancing supply and demand; the locating of large resources for the technical

re-equipping of trade (deputy V. G. Bobutsak); and the paying of more attention to the rendering of paid services for the rural population (deputy Yu. I. Popesku).

The statements made by the deputies mentioned approximately 50 more complaints and recommendations to the republic's ministries and departments, the resolution of which is closely linked with the fulfillment of the State Plan, with the improvement of the economic activity of the republic's enterprises and organizations, and with the development of the branches of the social infrastructure.

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**Demichev Addresses Turkmenia Party Aktiv**  
*18300141a Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 4 Dec 87 pp 1,2*

[Turkmeninform report: "Vital Tasks of Restructuring"]

[Text] As was already reported, on 2 December a meeting of the republic's party, soviet, and economic aktiv was held in Ashkhabad. The meeting was opened by an introductory statement by S. A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmenistan CP Central Committee.

The speaker at the meeting was P. N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

He congratulated the republic's workers on the successful fulfillment of the holiday year's state plan for procurements of raw cotton.

It should be noted, he continued, that this year the workers in Turkmenistan's agroindustry achieved better results than previously, although, judged on the basis of weather conditions, the current year was not more favorable than preceding ones. But one should not be lulled by what has been achieved. The republic has good prospects, but there are also, of course, serious problems. They must be approached in a businesslike manner, in the spirit of the time. A very great deal depends upon one's own initiative, resourcefulness, and enterprise.

The speaker drew attention to the fact that the resolution of a number of vitally important problems can be substantially aided by the exchange of experience with other Soviet republics and other regions of the country, and by direct interaction with them. Rather large reserves for accelerating construction exist. It is necessary to activate in full measure such a potential as the combining of science and production. For example, interesting projects are being implemented by the TuSSR Academy of Sciences Desertification Institute. And yet its developments are still being introduced weakly. Special emphasis was made on the need for the optimal use of the region's water-management resources. A considerable benefit could be derived from the unification of the

scientific and production organizations of the neighboring republics that are confronting similar tasks. In this regard the speaker noted that in Uzbekistan considerable practical success had been achieved by the Association of Orchard-Growing and Viticulture imeni R. R. Shreder.

Speaking about the efficient use of water and land resources, the speaker pointed out, in particular, the existence of neglected land in the environs of Ashkhabad. That land should be given to the city dwellers for use as orchards and vegetable farms. In addition, the mountain slopes should be assimilated.

P. N. Demichev devoted special attention to the human factor that has been put in the center of the restructuring. An important role is played here by the healthy moral and psychological climate in the labor collective and the family, he emphasized. This should not be disregarded, because one finds here considerable reserves for increasing labor productivity and the workers' creative potential. An issue of primary importance is the concern for people's health. Of course, the republic needs new hospitals and polyclinics, and needs to improve the public health system as a whole. However, it is necessary to introduce mass sport and mass physical culture into life on a broad scale.

During the years that have passed since the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and within the shortest time periods, the party succeeded in working out the chief principles and trends in perestroika, and important steps were taken to ensure its practical implementation, P. N. Demichev continued.

The forthcoming year of 1988 should be viewed as a decisive one in implementing the chief tasks of restructuring the administration of the national economy. Their resolution requires new approaches and stubborn, strenuous labor. We must not retreat from difficulties, but, rather, we must carry out a stubborn search for the most effective ways to overcome them; we must work everywhere to improve discipline and organizational spirit, and to strive persistently to improve the quality of output; we must not try to excuse ourselves by referring to objective circumstances or by pointing an accusing finger at our neighbors, but should mobilize our own efforts, search for reserves, and organize our work in a new way. Everyone must remember that the success of the overall job depends today upon everyone's skillful and persistent work.

The most complicated and most responsible stage of perestroika is approaching. If one speaks succinctly, wherein lie the specific features of this stage? They lie in the fact that the economic strategy worked out by the party must receive adequate practical implementation in the very foundation of the life of society, in the labor collectives, in the outlying areas. Starting on 1 January, enterprises producing 60 percent of the total output will be changed over to the principles of cost accounting and self-financing. This will affect the working and living

conditions of millions of people. There will be a significant increase in the requirements pertaining to the actions of every collective and every worker, to the quality of the output being produced, to shipment discipline, to the evenness of the enterprises' operation, and to the organizational efficiency and flexibility of administration. The income received by the labor collectives will depend directly upon the final results of their activity.

Here we can come into contact with forces of conservatism. This pertains primarily to the bureaucratic habits of the central departments. The fear of violating the administrative style of management, and the habit of using command methods, on the one hand, and the inactive waiting for instructions, on the other.

One approach that has not yet yielded its position is the approach of across-the-board equalization, the inability to provide any genuine material or psychological incentives for the outstanding results of a person's creative labor. People have not yet gotten completely rid of the attempt to dump their sins on the people at the top, on the leadership. Under the burden of baggage like this, which pulls people down, it is difficult to implement perestroika.

The people who have been called upon to march in the vanguard of the struggle for restructuring, P. N. Demichev emphasized, are the Communist Party members and the party organizations of the labor collectives. They must head that process, they must attract the masses into it, and they must develop their creative initiative.

A key place in restructuring today is occupied by the implementation of the comprehensive plan for fulfilling the decisions of the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which stipulates the gradual conversion of enterprises, associations, and scientific and construction-design organizations to complete cost accounting and self-financing, and which presupposes the completion of this work in 1989, as well as the reconsideration of the existing normative acts and instructional guides with the purpose of eliminating unjustified limitations on the rights of the labor collectives.

It is necessary for us to march ahead as a single front, both "from the bottom" and "from the top." It is only in this instance that we can count on a successful outcome. We cannot allow the movement along the path of restructuring to "die out" as a result of excessively rigid administrative measures or the adherence to old bureaucratic forms of administration, or numerous roadblocks on the path of the enterprises' creative initiative and independence that might be created by various kinds of departmental orders, as well as by sluggishness, lack of organizational efficiency, and low labor efficiency, which still exist in many labor collectives.

Experience shows us that we cannot underestimate these dangers. As you know, associations and enterprises of a number of industrial ministries began operating under conditions of complete cost accounting in January 1987. Their indicators with regard to the volume of output sales with a consideration of the contractual pledges, and with regard to the growth rates for profit and the rise in labor productivity, are somewhat higher than for the enterprises operating under the old conditions. However, no fundamental change has been observed in their development. The reason for this situation is that the enterprises failed to prepare efficiently for the changeover to the new conditions. The enterprises were not promptly informed about the economic standards, and in a few places those standards were repeatedly changed. The concepts of cost accounting were not made completely clear to the persons directly responsible for carrying it out. Many workers did not know how the new conditions differed from the old ones. One still observes the continuation of the practice of paying bonuses to designers and technologists not for the development of new technology and the quality of output, but for the volume of production. Everyone must make the most serious conclusions from this.

The most serious position today is the wait-and-see position. The person who thinks that every step in restructuring the work requires the awaiting of the next set of instructions from above is sadly mistaken. And mistakes of this kind are fraught with major undesirable consequences for the life of the entire labor collective. There is nothing to wait for. Instead, one must take decisive steps to get involved in the matter at hand.

The chief thing today is to learn economic methods of management. Every enterprise administrator must develop his socialist initiative, the ability to use all the opportunities and reserves to increase the effectiveness of the work performed by the enterprises and associations, must have a complete mastery of cost-accounting relations, and must know how to foresee the consequences of the decisions being made. The level of the administrator's economic and social thinking will determine today the situation for the entire labor collective.

A large amount of attention in the statement was devoted to questions of improving the quality of the output being produced. Anyone who thinks that he will be able in the future to count on having people buy his slipshod product, or even his production rejects, and having them provide him with a comfortable life, is seriously mistaken. On the contrary, the trade system will now define the output assortment and will select from the enterprise only the items that are in demand, the items that are selling, instead of just lying around, gathering dust on the warehouse shelves. And if we may speak figuratively, today every labor collective, every worker, must have within itself or within himself a kind of state acceptance system, even if such a system does not exist at the enterprise. The work day must proceed under strict monitoring by the worker's conscience.

The problems of the quality of articles, of their technical level, are questions of the prestige of the Soviet economy in the modern world and, at the same time, are questions of reinforcing our financial situation, and consequently the economic health of our society, which determines the carrying out of an active social policy and the resolution of the key problems of raising the national standard of living.

The sluggishness, and sometimes simply the lack of desire to take into consideration the consumer's new demands and requirements, is a disease which has affected many of our enterprises. Soviet consumers have begun to run around looking for the simplest articles made by foreign companies, and to reject the articles made by our own enterprises. The shoes and certain types of clothing produced at our enterprises have become the object of satirical remarks, which in many situations are completely justified. But instead of taking real steps to set things right, the people who are responsible for these issues frequently find dozens of objective reasons and explanations to take the responsibility off themselves.

Today we need to engage in problems of quality output in the same way that we engaged in questions of assimilating technology during the years of industrialization. At that time the chief thing for us was the rate of development. Today what is important is not the rate *per se*, but rate multiplied by quality. All our output must correspond to the best worldwide models, and in the final analysis must also surpass them.

The party sees the real path to the resolution of many problems in increasing the role of the soviets in economic and social development. P. N. Demichev emphasized. The soviets must completely justify their role as completely empowered and decision-making agencies.

Without the further development of socialist democracy it is impossible to raise the masses' initiative, to instill in everyone the feeling of being the owner, or to increase responsibility for the overall job. The democratic principles of life must penetrate more and more deeply into all spheres of life.

Increasing the role of the soviets as agencies of self-government, of the people's power that is carried out by the people itself, requires profound restructuring in their work, and it can be said that the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 25 July 1985, entitled "The Further Increase in the Role and the Intensification of the Responsibility Borne by the Soviets of People's Deputies for Accelerating Socioeconomic Development in the Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress" has in mind specifically this fundamental goal.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet discussed the work of a number of local soviets with regard to the fulfillment of that decree and noted serious shortcomings.

The work performed by many local soviets continues to be encumbered by a load from the past. Excessive centralization and the departmental nature of the administration of the national economy have led to a situation in which the local soviets, essentially speaking, have stopped playing a leading role in the economic and social development of their territories. The reduction of the real responsibility borne by the soviets has led to the manifestation in their work of a bureaucratic excrement, inertness, lack of initiative, and the fear of undertaking the resolution of any major tasks. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers grants broad rights to the local soviets. But they are still wary of undertaking the job at hand, and frequently continue to hide behind the back of the party agencies.

The restructuring of the soviets is closely linked with raising the level of their work in economic and social planning. The plans accepted by the soviets must become an effective lever in comprehensive regional development. We proceed from the assumption that the comprehensive nature of the plans encompassing all the associations, enterprises, and organizations situated on the appropriate territory, irrespective of the department to which they belong, will create favorable conditions for the effective work of every labor collective. The correct social policy will exert a positive effect also upon the development of production.

However, the present-day approaches to planning are still being assimilated very slowly. Most of the soviets have not yet ascertained what return an oblast, city, or rayon can obtain from combining the manpower and funds of the enterprises and organizations for the purpose of resolving economic problems, or what benefit can be extracted from the scientific and construction-development institutions located on their territory.

An important step on the path to increasing the role of the soviets in economic and social development is, in our opinion, the creation at the kray and oblast ispolkoms councils of main economic-production administrations. Obviously, much here will depend upon the level of the cadres at those administrations and the total content of their work.

Aggressiveness in posing the problems that are of critical concern to the masses and the ability to protect the public's interests and to fight against the narrowly departmental approach increase the authority of the executive agencies of the soviets.

Something that continues to be a weak spot in the work of the ispolkoms is the quality of the decisions being made. They do not always arm the ispolkoms themselves, their departments and administrations, or the enterprises and organizations with a concrete, clear-cut program for achieving the goals that have been set. Only a decision that is correctly formulated and that is made promptly determines the success of the job at hand. Certain executive committees continue to be infatuated with pencil-pushing and produce a mass of decisions, many of which lack sufficient economic substantiation.

New positive factors have recently begun to appear in the deputies' work. They include the formation of deputy groups and posts; an increase in the amount of work done at people's place of residence; and the appearance of various public formations which make it possible to strengthen the ties with the masses and to increase their creative participation. Cadre certification has begun to be carried out in the ispolkom apparatuses. Cadre certification is not a formal bureaucratic procedure. It must become that effective mechanism which makes it possible to evaluate more profoundly the workers' political and on-the-job qualities, and to gain a better knowledge of their strong and weak points. It is a way to raise the level of the work with cadres in the soviets and to form a reserve of people for promotion.

The restructuring processes that are occurring in our country have been receiving an unusually broad response throughout the world. The foreign public has shown tremendous interest in the restructuring, democratization, and *glasnost*. *Perestroika* and *glasnost* have become words that do not require translation. The principal leaders of the western world have been watching the restructuring very attentively. The question that interests and disconcerts them most is: what are the real things that restructuring will bring to the Soviet Union and what should be the West's reaction to it?

The progressive peace-loving forces place a high value on the initiative taken by the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries of socialism, and they link with them the hopes of achieving a decisive turning point in the course of world events, the taking of a turn toward detente and the reinforcement of international security. The mass wave of support for the course taken by the Leninist party has been growing.

A powerful effect on world public opinion was exerted by the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Great October. Restructuring considerably intensified the influence of the ideas and principles of Great October upon the entire present-day world. The new way of thinking, with its criteria that pertain to mankind as a whole, and with its orientation on intelligence and openness, have begun to carve their way into world affairs, destroying old stereotypes.

Then, P. N. Demichev dwelt on the key questions of the present-day international situation and the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. He emphasized that our party has been consistently and persistently waging a struggle to achieve its chief goal — the creation of an all-encompassing system of international security — and to move ahead along the path to a nuclear-free world.

The restructuring has been exerting a profound effect upon increasing our foreign-policy activities as a whole, the speaker remarked. There has been a broad public response to the meetings that the Soviet leadership has had with the leaders of foreign states. There has also been a considerable increase of the activity rate in our interparliamentary dealings.

The restructuring processes have received a positive response in the fraternal socialist countries. They have become an important incentive for increasing the effectiveness of their cooperation, the development of direct ties, the carrying out of cooperative efforts, and the creation of joint enterprises. We currently are dynamically using new forms of contacts for developing cooperation among the fraternal countries of socialism, and for effectively carrying out our party's foreign-policy course.

The celebration of the glorious anniversary of the socialist revolution, he said in conclusion, has become a powerful factor for mobilizing the energy of the Soviet nation, energy that is aimed at resolving the main tasks of the restructuring and at continuing and reinforcing the job that was begun by the Great October.

"Allow me," he said, "to wish all of you much success in your work."

Persons who spoke at the meeting of the party, soviet, and economic aktiv — O. Khodzhaev, first secretary, Turkmenistan CP Tashauz Obkom; L. V. Potapov, chairman of the Mary Oblast Ispolkom; V. N. Rebruk, second secretary, party's Chardzhou Obkom; A. O. Bayramov, chairman, Ashkhabad City Ispolkom; I. Rustamov, rural soviet chairman, Bagir, Ashkhabadskiy Rayon; and B. Amanov, ispolkom chairman, Murgabskiy Rayon Soviet — placed their main emphasis on the outcroppings of the new that have appeared in the work of implementing the ideas of restructuring, and the difficulties that have arisen. Mention was made of the fact that a process of moral improvement is under way in the republic.

Emphasis was made of the importance of the work done by the soviets with the lagging enterprises, the expansion of the ties that the agencies of authority have with the republic and union ministries, and the putting of the structures of the ispolkoms into conformity with the tasks linked with the administration of the economy.

The speakers self-critically pointed out also that many city, rayon, and rural soviets of people's deputies have still been engaging little in the restructuring or in the new methods.

It was noted that restructuring is not proceeding smoothly. Here and there, it is being opposed by long-established stereotypes and habits. Thefts and bribery have not been completely eliminated. Questions that began to be asked sharply during the course of preparing for the changeover to the new management conditions involved the fact that certain administrators had a poor knowledge of the principles of the specific economy.

Criticism was leveled at union ministries and departments. It was emphasized that success in the job at hand will be largely promoted by the expansion of democracy and *glasnost*.

Speakers expressed their firm resolve to meet the 19th party conference with important results and to take an important step on the path of implementing the concepts of the Leninist party.

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#### **Odessa Obkom Finds Workers Lack Faith in Perestroika**

18000166a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
23 Dec 87 p 2

[Article by A. Rekubratskiy, PRAVDA UKRAINY special correspondent: "Bringing Fire Upon Themselves: From the Plenum of the Party's Odessa Obkom"]

[Text] Odessa. It is both the port where "all flags converge as our guests," and tremendous industrial potential — machine-building, machine tool-building, an agroindustrial complex, a center of science, culture, and art, and a health resort for the entire country. How, then, does one define the degree of party influence upon all these branches.

A few minutes before 1000 hours the bell rang, telling the plenum participants that they should take their places in the hall. But considerably earlier there was another bell, a very alarming one. Seventy-seven percent of the workers who had been surveyed on the eve of the plenum feel that the measures involving in restructuring the economic-production sphere are completely ineffective, and every other worker does not believe in the restructuring at his work station or his enterprise. Of course, the questionnaire that was conducted by the obkom requires more profound analysis, but the reasons for skepticism are not accidental. The oblast has sharply lost its positions. The plan for production of commercial output is not being fulfilled, and there has been a drop in quality. The state of affairs has especially worsened in agriculture. The gross plan was fulfilled by only 87.7 percent, and the plan for production of grain crops, by 57.9 percent.

Bitter truth was also revealed in the letters that workers sent to the plenum.

"The constant crash programs and overtime operations in the shops attest to the fact that many administrators of the plant services have proven to be incapable of coping with the scope of the operations that would make it possible to change the state of affairs for the better," workers at the Odessa Construction-Trim Machine Plant write. The same situation exists at the welding wire shop of the Production Association imeni Dzerzhinskiy: "For several years it has been the practice here to work without any days off. People who fail to show up for work on days off are practically considered to be saboteurs."

The reports from the rural localities also have a gloomy cast. "The administrators of the oblast agroprom try and the RAPO are not interested in the state of grain processing. In a warehouse that is like a steam room, the grain has turned black. The livestock do not want to eat the combined fodder that we produce. Where are the administrators directing their attention?", the workers at the Ananyev Combined Fodder Plant ask.

"The construction workers at PMK-71 [Mobile Mechanized Column No. 71] have been building homes for a long time and poorly. After the project is turned over, it is necessary to rebuild everything all over again, except that now the residents have to do it themselves. I recommend that the future residents be included in the acceptance committee," F. M. Bogusevich, who lives in Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy, reasonably stated.

Bringing fire upon themselves, members of the buro of the party's Odessa Obkom justly assumed that the discussion at the plenum would provide feedback. It is no accident that the plenum participants reacted so strongly to the Leninist quotation cited in a report: "The time when it was necessary to outline great tasks has passed, and the time has now come when it is necessary to carry them out in a practical way."

Frank discussion does not tolerate excessive organization. And when, after the report given by obkom First Secretary A. P. Nochevkin, plenum chairperson A. S. Reshetnikov, chief agronomist at the Druzhba Kolkhoz, Kiliyskiy Rayon, announced that everyone who wanted to speak could do so. Then it turned out that a list already existed, and it was thought that everything would travel along the customary lines. But the very first conversation during a break with P. N. Polyakov, director of the Sovkhoz imeni Lenin, Belyayevskiy Rayon, revealed that every plenum participant had come here with his own pains, alarms, and recommendations.

"My problem wasn't mentioned in the report," Petr Nikolayevich said, "but I would like to discuss the fate of the sovkhozes specializing in vegetable and dairy production. The game of leapfrog, transferring them from ministry to ministry, has led to the disappearance of

allocations. We have proven to be completely forgotten both at agroprom and the RAPO. I would like to make a proposal concerning the creation of an agrocommittee that would engage in our problems. Because you can see what is happening. They abolished our irrigation system. There was a saving of 25,000-26,000 rubles in the earnings of the workers in the irrigation system, but output valued at 500,000-800,000 was lost as a result of the lack of irrigation. And this is at a time when the oblast has not been coping with the plans for milk production, and things are not so good with vegetables either. But I like the way the plenum has been proceeding. This is probably the first time that we have been speaking close to what we think."

Yes, both in the report and in the statements that were made, there was a search for the answer to the most pressing question: how to work in the future, how to restructure one's way of thinking. The heavy load of the old way of thinking continues to prevail at many primary party organizations. It was for good reason that the speaker was alarmed at the fact that, in a number of party organizations in Primorskiy and Tsentralnyy rayons in the city of Odessa, and in Velikomikhaylovskiy and Baltskiy rayons, there had been no businesslike discussion of the work of the elected agencies. It had been impossible to turn the discussion from the customary path of people giving their own reports to the path of carrying out a meaningful analysis at the plenums of the party's Belyayevskiy and Suvorovskiy rayon committees. And what name should we give — a calamity or an everyday phenomenon — to the fact that, in 84 party organizations, decisions have been made to conduct meetings for a second time?

Is it good or is it bad that, in 16 party organizations, the work performed by the elected agencies has been deemed to be unsatisfactory, and that, throughout the oblast, 133 party organization secretaries have been reelected? It is good if they have been replaced by people who are better-trained. But it is bad if we see situations such as the one reported by A. V. Yakimov, of Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy Rayon: a person was "yanked out of the agronomists and set up as a secretary." Unfortunately, it is not always the case that a thorough study is made of a person's on-the-job, political, and moral qualities when he is nominated for an administrative job. For example, in the same Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy Rayon the people at the raykom decided to promote to the job of general director of the newly created agroindustrial combine P. S. Galtsev, chairman of the Bolshevik Sovkhoz, without asking for the advice of the kolkhoz members, and those members failed to give their consent to the transfer.

The shallowness of thought, the superficial treatment in the selection of cadres, represents a poor spot at the obkom buro. One hundred and five of the elected workers at the party's obkom were relieved of their duties over a two-year period as having been unable to cope with them or as having compromised themselves.

Moreover, frequently the buro members and the party obkom department chiefs ignore the opinion not only of the worker collectives, but also of the party's raykoms when promoting cadres.

After the difficult consequences of the winter of 1985, Comrade Voronovskiy was transferred from Dnepropetrovsk to the position of general director of the Odessa-nergo Production Association. He messed up the work even more. The obkom buro decided his question in an unusual manner: he was fined and then sent... to the Academy of the National Economy for training.

And such incidents are not isolated ones, L. S. Mikhaylenko, first secretary of the party's Tsentralnyy Rayon committee, said. Cadre questions were resolved without coordinating them with the raykom both at the state university and at the Odespromstroy Combine, and that obviously disparaged the role of the party's raykom. It is only a pity that Lyudmila Stepanovna herself did not avoid innuendoes in her statement. Both the speaker and certain others who made statements mentioned only superficially the blatant shortcomings in the work of the procurator's office and the legal agencies. And yet in Odessa people talk about this at every street crossing. It would be time to give a well-principled evaluation to these situations.

The economic reform is being carried out slowly. At the present time 38 enterprises are operating on complete cost accounting and self-financing. Half of them have not been fulfilling the shipment plans, and eight of them have been disrupting the plan for production of commercial output. Starting with the new year, 59 more enterprises in the oblast will change over to the new management forms. A commission of the party's obkom studied the state of affairs and came to the uncomfortable conclusions: 15 enterprises are not ready at all, and many are preparing only formally for the changeover to self-financing. Where is the way out?

Cost accounting stipulates the freeing of approximately 15,000 persons. How are they to be reassigned and retrained? Many party committees are not ready for that work. Won't the same thing happen to the Odessans with the introduction of experience that happened with the brigade contract in rural areas? The contract is being introduced, but the number of farms operating at a loss has increased. As has been shown by a survey, many people cannot yet define precisely what the brigade contract is, cannot tell how to organize the work of the contract teams, or determine the payment for the labor performed.

Things are developing in a complicated way in the administration of the construction complex. Hindering factors are the existence of too many administrative levels and of duplication, as a result of which justified reproaches were leveled at Yu. P. Parashenko, chief of the construction department, and I. A. Klepachev, secretary of the party's obkom.

And what is typical? The shortcomings in the work of the low-level agencies duplicate the shortcomings in the organizational activity of the obkom. And although the speaker said that the number of sessions had been reduced as compared with 1985 and the number of decisions enacted was smaller by one-third, A. I. Kruglyak and A. P. Malyshko, first secretaries of the party's Savranskiy and Velikomikhaylovskiy rayon committees, convincingly proved that the flow of paper from above has not been decreasing, but has been growing. Sometimes that flow literally engulfs the people at the raykom. For example, on 17 August the party's Velikomikhaylovskiy Rayon committee received at the same time 10 decisions and memoranda from the obkom. Individual documents contained from 20 to 25 sheets of typed text. During the past two years alone, the party's obkom secretaries have signed 172 documents dealing with economic questions — that fact was cited by A. N. Kravchenko, chairman of the oblast party organization's inspection commission.

We might add that it is precisely here, first of all, that one should use the slogan "Let's begin with ourselves." Incidentally, most of those who made statements would rather indulge in criticism, rather than analyzing their own shortcomings and stating ways to eliminate them. Acute problems were raised by V. P. Gogulenko, chief physician at a clinical hospital, but in everything that was said there was a hint of an attempt to transfer the resolution of internal problems to anybody else.

"One can also observe distortions in self-criticism," V. I. Cherbayev, member of the buro of the party's obkom, leader of a brigade of lathe operators at the Odessa Heavy Crane Construction Production Association, remarked wittily. "Fancy-pants bureaucratic pilots show up, criticize themselves left and right, but things still do not get moving."

V. D. Kryuchkov, candidate member of the Politburo, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party's Central Committee, who spoke at the plenum, remarked that the workers of Odessa Oblast must create a real basis for the changeover to chiefly economic methods of administration. He emphasized that the democratization of the process of forming the cadre corps imposes special responsibility on the party committees in selecting and training administrators. In this regard one cannot consider it to be normal that, during the past two years, not a single one of the gorkom first secretaries or rayon ispolkom chairmen has been elected on a competitive basis.

The obkom buro is still working poorly to plan for the future, and is making little use of growth levers. A detrimental effect is exerted on the development of the economy by the insufficient acceleration of scientific-technical progress and by the low level of organization of production and of technological and labor discipline. A problem that is especially acute in Odessa is the housing problem. The waiting list for housing has been growing

and now has surpassed 100,000 families. The bureau of the party's obkom, the oblast ispolkom, and the oblast council of trade unions must have a precise and clear idea of how and when this problem will be resolved. But the capacities of the construction organizations have been lagging behind the needs of industry and the social sphere.

Holding high the reputation of Odessa, multiplying the traditions of the hero city — those are the aims of the resolution that was enacted by the plenum.

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### **UkSSR Supreme Soviet Discusses Crimean Oblast Shortcomings**

18000166b Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
23 Dec 87 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Session of the Presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] A regular session of the Presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet was held on 23 December.

The topic of discussion was the activity of the soviets of people's deputies in Crimean Oblast with respect to the expansion of democratic principles, *glasnost*, and the development of criticism and self-criticism. The speaker was A. M. Roshchupkin, chairman of the oblast ispolkom.

It was noted that the soviets in the oblast, while carrying out the practical measures that are aimed at improving those processes, are not yet making full use of the available opportunities for the complete development of democratic forms and methods of administration or of *glasnost* in their work. In many soviets the sessions are conducted according to old stereotypes, without any thorough analysis of the state of affairs in the economy or the social sphere, or of the activity of the ispolkoms, the other subordinate agencies, or the administrators of enterprises and organizations. The opinion and recommendations of deputies, labor collectives, and citizens are being taken into consideration insufficiently for purposes of locating and activating reserves in management.

In the work of several ispolkoms, the proper spirit of collegial action has not been provided, and some of the deputies who have been elected to those ispolkoms have failed to take any decisive actions.

The permanent commissions of the soviets have been doing little to carry out their control functions or to interact with the trade-union and Komsomol agencies, and the people's controllers, have not been elaborating thoroughly the draft versions of the plans for the region's economic and social development, and have not been making constructive recommendations with regard to the questions that have come to a head.

Apparatus workers in many of the executive committees of the soviets lack the ability to think in long-term terms or to analyze properly, and are ill-informed about the state of affairs in the outlying areas.

The presidium has required the ispolkom of the Crimean Oblast Soviet to take steps to eliminate the existing shortcomings.

It has been recommended to the soviets of people's deputies in the oblast and to their executive committees that they rely more fully on the experience of the labor collectives, social organizations, and deputies, especially in the work of reinforcing discipline, order, and organizational spirit, and that they resolve these questions in an atmosphere of broader democratism and *glasnost*. Consistent steps must be taken to improve the practice of preparing for and conducting sessions, and active steps must be taken to involve the permanent commissions, deputies, and specialists in this. They must create at the sessions an atmosphere for the frank critical analysis of the work being done in the appropriate branches of the national economy, the results of the activity of the soviet and economic agencies and the administrative cadres, and the increase in the effectiveness of the deputies' inquiries.

A more dynamic search must be conducted for new forms for expanding *glasnost* in their activity, for reinforcing the contacts with the masses, and more active steps must be taken to guarantee the regularity of the reports given by the executive committees and their departments and administrations to labor collectives and the public, and to increase the role of citizen rallies in resolving questions of local life. Steps must be taken to guarantee collegial action in the work of the ispolkoms and to intensify their coordination of the activities of the permanent commissions. There must be persistent efforts to master modern methods of administering the economy, by changing over to complete cost accounting, self-financing, and self-support.

It is necessary to improve fundamentally the work with the agencies of the public's social action groups, to intensify the demands made on the workers in the apparatus of the administrative agencies, and to develop in them the ability to work under conditions of the expansion of democracy, conscious discipline, and responsibility for the job assigned to them.

All the organizing and mass-political work should be subordinated to the resolution of the questions linked with the improvement of the workers' living, working, and everyday conditions and additional steps must be taken to compensate in the third year of the five-year plan for the lag that was allowed to occur during the previous two years in industry, agriculture, capital construction, and the providing of trade and personal-municipal services to the workers.

The participants at the session listened to a report given by M. S. Stepanenko, first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Kiev Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, concerning the restructuring of the work of the local soviets of people's deputies with citizens' letters in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Serious criticism was leveled at the oblast ispolkom and the soviet agencies in the oblast for their serious shortcomings and the omissions in their work of receiving visits by citizens and of considering their statements and complaints. The number of letters sent by the oblast's workers to the Presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet and to the oblast ispolkom with regard to questions that ought to be resolved locally has been increasing. A considerable number of them have been prompted by serious shortcomings in satisfying the public's social-cultural and everyday needs and by manifestations of formalism and red tape, and an impersonal attitude toward people.

Steps to ascertain and eliminate the reasons for the complaints are not being taken promptly. The state of the work with letters from the public, and the reports given by the administrators of subordinate agencies with regard to these questions, are rarely submitted for review at the sessions or meetings of the permanent commissions and executive committees. The administrators of the ispolkoms of individual rayon soviets, of many departments and administrations of the oblast ispolkom, enterprises and organizations, and kolkhozes and sovkhozes receive only a few citizens, and on an irregular basis, and do not provide for any precise actions in reviewing their statements.

There have been serious omissions in the resolution of housing questions, which give rise to one-third of all the citizens' letters, and in the providing of medical services for the public. It was emphasized that the soviets should engage more meaningfully in improving the development of trade, public nutrition, and the providing of municipal and personal services to the public, and in the practical use of the unoccupied homes in rural localities and the garden plots adjacent to them, and they should take steps to develop more broadly the cooperative and individual labor activity of the citizens with the purposes of the more complete satisfying of needs and the rendering of services to the public.

It is necessary to intensify the fight against thefts of socialist property, against poor business practices, against crime, and against the violation of public order and citizens' rights, and to take decisive steps to eradicate drunkenness and the making of illegal alcoholic beverages.

The presidium has required the local soviets in the oblast and the agencies subordinate to them to eliminate the shortcomings in considering the workers' recommendations, statements, and complaints and to guarantee their

thorough analysis and the precision and effectiveness of personal visits by the inhabitants. They must study more broadly and must disseminate the work experience of "Service-05," Open Letter Days, public visiting rooms, and other democratic forms of work with citizens' letters.

Appropriate assignments have been issued to individual ministries in the republic.

The session approved the plan for the basic measures planned for carrying out at UkSSR Supreme Soviet in the first half of 1988, and considered the questions of bestowing awards on mothers of large families, accepting individuals as citizens of Ukrainian SSR, and certain other questions.

V. A. Sologub, member of the Politburo of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, spoke during the discussion of questions on the agenda.

V. I. Zabaznov, deputy chief of the visiting room of the Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet, took part in the session.

The session was conducted by V. S. Shevchenko, member of the Politburo of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet.

5075

**Alma-Ata Oblast Leadership Slow to Restructure**  
*18300129a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA*  
*in Russian 22 Dec 87 p 2*

[Article by staff correspondents V. Grechenin and B. Shubayev: "Time for Action": "The Alma-Ata Obkom Buro Reports on the Supervision of Perestroyka"]

[Text]Today, when society has entered the second stage of perestroyka and the specific embodiment of the resolutions worked out by the party becomes of paramount importance, success is determined to a large extent by the degree to which flexibility and reliability is built in to the mechanism for getting the workers involved in the practical fulfillment of tasks for accelerating social and economic development. In turn, establishing such a mechanism to a significant degree depends upon the style of work of the party committees, and on the extent to which this style provides for greater democracy, and for introducing economic management methods in the national economy.

Questions connected with this, notes and suggestions were at the center of attention of those participating in the Kazakh CP Alma-Ata Obkom plenum, which examined the report of the obkom buro on the supervision of perestroyka.

It was noted in the speeches and in the report of Obkom First Secretary M.S. Mendybayev, that since the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and especially in the period after the Congress, quite a bit has been accomplished. The oblast party organization has followed a steady course for restructuring cadre policy, and a decisive struggle is being waged against protectionism, nepotism, and the violation of the principles of social justice. There is now greater mutual exactingness in the activities of the obkom buro, and more concentration on the key problems of the economy and the social sphere.

Since the beginning of the five-year plan labor productivity at industrial enterprises has increased by 8.5 percent; this indicator is still higher in agriculture and capital construction. Plans for the first two years of the five-year plan for procurement of a number of the most important farm products, including grain, meat and milk, are being fulfilled at a rate exceeding the plan. The social program is being implemented at a fairly good rate. The annual plan for introduction of housing is being fulfilled in honor of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Dozens of projects for social and cultural-domestic purposes have been completed.

However, the national economic and creative potential in the oblast is still not being realized to the fullest.

This year the number of industrial enterprises in arrears increased, and the volume of delivery shortfalls nearly doubled. Since the start of the five year plan oblast industry failed to deliver 100 million rubles worth of products to the customers. Nor are questions of raising quality yet being resolved satisfactorily. Shortfalls are especially noticeable in such sectors as machine-building and light industry, which are concentrated mainly in the republic capital. In the agro-industrial complex, farm productivity and yield per irrigated hectare remain low.

In this connection, the Alma-Ata party gorkom and gorispolkom, and certain city raykoms, were subjected to severe criticism—including the Kurtinskiy, Balkhashskiy and a number of other raykoms in the oblast, which in essence have not yet found their place in the solution of one of the key tasks of economic policy: the transition to economic accountability, financial autonomy, and self-support. Here they have not yet gained a profound grasp of the concept of radical economic reform. Measures for implementing it are superficial or are lacking entirely. People are not carefully examining the essence of the new economic policy. A considerable amount of the blame for this state of affairs rests on the shoulders of the obkom buro. It was noted in the speeches of Dzhambul Party Raykom First Secretary A.S. Sarin, Alma-Ata Gorkom First Secretary V.I. Romanov, and Kaskelenskiy Party Raykom First Secretary A.Z. Ponamaryev, that certain obkom secretaries and departments often are still captives of the old approaches. Capital gorkom officials are still being summoned to the obkom both with and without cause. And they travel to the rayons for the most part to prepare questions for the plenums and the buro,

or to investigate complaints. Moreover, in some cases their acquaintance with the state of affairs in the localities is limited chiefly to "coaching," to searching out shortcomings, and to small-minded surveillance. And after all, practical assistance is expected from these officials in solving complex questions, and not "edification." Such an approach is the absolutely intolerable, because it disorganizes the officials at the rayon level and hinders the development of their initiative. The administrative-pressure style is often adhered to by the leaders of certain oblast organizations as well, and specifically, Z.K. Minbayev, chairman of the oblast agro-industrial commission.

Is this not whence the style of operating through the chief of the subordinate party committees derives? The manager of the Kapchagaytyzhstroy Trust, for example, was appointed to his position without the consent of the party gorkom. In turn, the reorganization of the capital city agro-industrial commission in the end was deprived of its independence, which happened without the participation of the Alma-Ata gorkom. It is an issue not of simply sparing the pride of the party committees, but one of the necessity for collectively consulting with the communists, of increasing their responsibility and independence in their allotted work sector.

One of the most important criteria and the paramount requirement of perestroyka is the success rate of its work. At present the effectiveness of the role of the buro and the obkom as an organ of political leadership is measured not by the number of decrees and resolutions issued, but by the practical achievements themselves. And consequently, we must be constantly concerned about the authority of the resolutions adopted.

It was noted in the presentations that of late, by virtue of the development of glasnost, corporate actions, personal responsibility, criticism and self-criticism, effective control is being achieved over the implementation of the measures which have been developed. Communists and workers in the oblast look upon this with approval.

However, the inertia of the old approaches is felt here also. Useful and necessary undertakings are not always completed. No concrete work is visible in the vicinity of the Issyk Agricultural Combine, which was set up in the Enbekshikazakhskiy Rayon; to make up for this, bureaucratic passions have been ignited. The obkom adopted a special resolution, but its implementation is not assured. Both the oblispolkom and its chairman, N.T. Knyazev, continue to play the role of passive observers. And necessary matters are clearly going nowhere.

Or take such a burning problem as supplying the populace with vegetables. Possessing enormous capabilities here, the oblast utilizes them extremely poorly. For these shortcomings, the oblast party organization has been subjected to severe criticism more than once by the Kazakh CP Central Committee and in the central and republic press. A large amount of paper and promises to

put things right have piled up. They have even taken a trip to study the experience of Tselinograd. And what of it? There are still not enough tomatoes, nor cucumbers, nor cabbages on the shelves of the stores in the capital. Moreover, vegetable production has been curtailed. Tens of thousands of tons have had to be hauled in to Alma-Ata from outside the oblast limits.

Reflecting on the reasons for these and other areas of neglect, the speaker and those making presentations noted that the buro, the secretaries and the branch departments still depend far too little on the primary party organizations at enterprises, farms, and scientific institutions. After all, the success of practical matters depends namely on the militance and the initiative of the primary organizations and on their leaders, on faith in them, and on stirring the creative activeness of the communists. The obsolete stereotypes in working with cadres are also felt here. Assignment to the reserve and promotions are accomplished by questionnaire alone, when selection for advancement is mostly made by virtue of special education and not by businesslike qualities.

For this reason the secretaries of party committees and raykoms quite often approach the carrying out of their own tasks as managers and not as political organizers.

Moreover, certain obkom secretaries, and I specifically cite A.I. Shchekota and V.P. Gritsay, and other officials on the staff, when traveling to the rayons, to sovkhozes and kolkhozes and to enterprises, deal more with the economic administrators than with the secretaries of the party committees, once again giving higher priority to individual problems of production and not to organizational work.

In their presentations, the plenum participants touched on the broadest range of issues regarding the improvement of the economic and social life of the oblast—on the growth of labor productivity and improvement in education, on expanding the volume and the assortment of consumer goods and introducing the collective contract, on increasing the standards of international relations and the struggle for a healthy way of life, and on affirming social justice.

All of these questions were analyzed in most instances from the point of view of improving the operating style of the obkom buro itself, as well as that of the gorkoms, raykoms and primary party organizations. Concreteness, businesslike principles, trust and mutual exactingness toward the cadres, development of democratic principles, criticism and self-criticism, overcoming duplication of the soviet and the economic organs—such is the style that is increasingly asserted in the activity of the oblast party organization.

But nevertheless it is necessary to involve to the maximum in the cause of perestroyka the hitherto untouched reserves in the human factor, arousing the social activeness of the communists and all the workers. And these reserves are considerable.

"I believe it is high time to increase the contribution of the rank-and-file obkom members to the work of the oblast party organization," said V.A. Krampets, party committee secretary at the Sovkhoz imeni Tyumebayev in Iliyskiy Rayon. "What does my membership, for example, come down to? Only to taking part in plenums. I have no assignment whatever, and this applies to others too."

Also speaking of this was L.V. Kochetova, a weaver at the Alma-Ata Cotton Combine, and other plenum participants. Suggestions introduced included, whether it is not high time that obkom members be familiarized with the report ahead of time, or if not that, then at least with its topics? And not on the day of the next plenum, but ahead of time, via publication in the press. This form of glasnost would make the plenum more purposeful, would provide maximum in-depth development and true collectiveness in the resolutions adopted. It should be noted that certain speakers lacked self-criticism in evaluating their own work, their blunders and their neglect. Feelings of dependence, passivity, expectation and hope of orders from "on high" have not yet been overcome everywhere. However, on the whole the plenum of the Kazakh CP Alma-Ata obkom demonstrated the growing political maturity of the party cadres and their clear conception of the goals and tasks of perestroyka; their responsibility for its implementation; and the place of the party organization in the solution of urgent problems.

The plenum participants acknowledged that the work of the buro obkom is satisfactory.

Speaking at the plenum was Z.K. Kamalidenov, Kazakh CP Central Committee secretary.

Taking part in the work of the plenum were L.D. Zakharchenko, a responsible official from the CPSU Central Committee; and A.P. Korotkov, deputy chairman, Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers.

09006

#### **Taldy-Kurgan Obkom Shortcomings Examined at Plenum**

18300129b Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 29 Dec 87 p2

[KazTAG report by V. Ganzha and S. Mukhametshin: "A Powerful Impulse for Changes"; "From the Taldy-Kurgan Obkom Party Plenum"]

[Text] Eliminating the lag on the part of many party committees and primary party organizations with respect to dynamically-developing and urgent processes;

providing new impetus to renovation, and giving uncompromising battle to the forces which hinder it: these were the main topics at the party obkom plenum, and the topics of discussion of the obkom buro report on work on supervising perestroyka.

The topics of conversation, both biased and unbiased, were no surprise, neither to the communists nor to the general public on Semirechye Sovkhoz. The obkom buro had made its report available to a wide circle of the party aktiv and the public in a timely fashion.

Reports were delivered by buro members to the working collectives, and sociological research and mass surveys were conducted. Letters from both city-dwellers and villagers also assisted in gaining a better understanding of the mood of the people and their thoughts about the methods and style of work of the party committees.

The oblast party organization paid dearly for the departure from Leninist principles in working with cadres, which occurred during the period of stagnation. The prestige of the local party organs fell, since passivity in resolving the most urgent questions, which had gone on for years, had destroyed the public's faith in the possibility of rapid changes.

The growth rate for industrial production in 1985 turned out to be almost zero. Major construction projects including the introduction of housing, schools and other social projects, were curtailed. Food supplies were among the worst in the republic as a result of failures in all sectors of the agro-industrial complex. Attempts to resolve the accumulated problems by means of reshuffling the cadres gave rise to uncertainty and irresponsibility on the part of many supervisors. During the period leading up to the beginning of perestroyka up to 1,000 persons a year belonging to the party obkom, gorkom and raykom nomenklatura were being replaced.

Since the middle of last year decisive measures have been adopted for overcoming the stagnation phenomena in the economy. It was necessary to increase labor productivity, which was lagging behind growth in wages; to radically improve the supply of milk and meat to the workers; and to set in motion the problem of housing and children's pre-school institutions.

The report of Obkom First Secretary V.G. Anufriyev also remarked on the recent positive trends in the selection of cadres: competitive selection of leaders, hearing their reports, and public affirmation of their references have become widespread. This year working collectives elected almost 500 supervisors, and reports were heard from about 2,000 persons at general assemblies. This permitted proportional representation in the various administrative units of the nations and nationalities living in the oblast. A concept has been developed for accelerated development in most sectors of the national economy. Industry has placed its stake on better

use of its production potential, and on increasing shift-operation of equipment. The results were soon to be seen. Since the start of the five-year plan industrial production volume has increased by more than 10 percent, and labor productivity by nearly 12 percent. Many additional products were produced. For the first time the annual plan for introducing housing was overfulfilled. The waiting period for an apartment was reduced by more than one-fifth. Also on the increase were the rates for erecting schools, kindergartens, and health-care institutions.

Since last year consumer demand for milk, potatoes and basic vegetables has begun to be better satisfied. Presently poultry, meats, and pork are sold widely in the city at state prices, and the sale of creamery butter has increased. This has become possible due to positive trends in the activity of the agro-industrial complex; the development of initiative; the expanding independence of the sovkhozes and kolkhozes, as well as due to the transition to economic methods of management. All of this assisted in fulfilling the plan for the first two years of the five-year plan for the sale of basic agricultural products to the state—except for sugar beets, vegetables and fruits. Also, the supply of cattle feed has increased.

Nevertheless, it was noted at the plenum, the problem of supplying the city-dwellers and villagers is still far from being solved. The consequences of the stagnation have not yet been fully overcome. To this day only two-thirds of the eggs supplied to the public in the oblast are produced locally. The remainder must be acquired from East Kazakhstan, although there is a poultry farm near Taldy-Kurgan. This necessary food product must be shipped in because of the lack of initiative on the part of Yu. Sorokin, general director of the poultry-raising association, a problem which has been addressed more than once from various rostrums. The Kazakh Poultry Raising Industry had plans to set up a modern complex for raising geese not far from the oblast center, and spent a half-million rubles on its design. However, its construction was not begun, and this project was transferred to another oblast with the tacit approval of A.M. Irsaliyev, the obkom party secretary in charge of agriculture. The obkom buro also acquiesced to the situation on the farms, which for a long time have been unable to deliver quality cattle for processing, after expending abnormal amounts of scarce feed on them. The fact of the matter is that the Ush-Tobinsk meat-packing combine is both morally and physically obsolete.

In speeches by Hero of Socialist Labor Z. Tamshibayeva, director of the Enbekshi Sovkhoz; by First Secretary N. Kilyshbayev of the Aksuskiy Raykom; by K. Khabidoldayev, senior shepherd on the Beskolskiy Sovkhoz; and by others, it was emphasized that perestroyka requires principally new approaches to party work, and increased responsibility by party committees of all ranks for the state of economic affairs. Above all this concerns the party obkom buro, which is expected to accomplish the supervision of the agroindustrial complex by political

methods. Meanwhile, the administrative-pressure methods of influence, to which certain party raykom secretaries have become accustomed, are still in use. Preoccupation with mundane concerns and ends is characteristic of them, as a result of which the future is often neglected. For a long time the principle of "The Plan at All Costs" has held sway in the oblast, as a result of which almost half of the sovkhozes and kolkhozes operate at a loss or at a low profit margin.

A.S. Zhigulin, an obkom buro member and chairman of the oblast agro-industrial commission, has not sufficiently influenced the development of the agro-industrial complex. Production costs for agricultural products remain high, and family and rental contracts are being introduced too slowly, as are water mains, irrigation systems, and enterprises for processing agricultural raw materials. Construction quality also remains at a low level: a school was recently turned over for use at the 23rd Party Congress Sovkhoz in Kirovskiy Rayon; but the floor has collapsed in the six-year school section, the walls are covered with cracks, the roof has begun to leak, and the cafeteria is not in operation.

New construction projects are being accepted for operation with a great deal of unfinished work practically everywhere, a fact well-known to A.F. Gorkopenko, an obkom party secretary; however, he has not yet brought party pressure to bear on this important work sector.

Trade and everyday services are slow to improve. The oblast trade administration and the oblast union of consumer societies have made little progress in decentralizing goods procurement, and they are not developing contacts with the industries which produce consumer goods. It was not by chance that a letter from a group of citizens in the city of Sarkand appeared in the oblast newspaper under the heading, "Is Perestroyka Coming to Us?". Its authors justifiably complained about the lack of dairy products and other foods in the stores. At the same time, an inspection showed that the capabilities for trade on the basis of local resources were not being used, by the fault of local administrators.

In spite of certain positive achievements in the activities of the law-enforcement organs, perestroyka has not taken place here either. The obkom buro, and specifically Second Secretary B.A. Amerkhanov, are doing a poor job in achieving reductions in lawbreaking in public places, and in effectiveness in the struggle against alcoholism, narcotics addiction and toxic substance abuse. Strengthening legality in the economic sphere is an urgent necessity. Over the last three years losses from pilferage have amounted to nearly two million rubles. And only two-thirds of this sum has been recouped.

Critical analysis of what has been achieved shows that the obkom buro, its departments, and party committees have recently relaxed their attention toward strengthening discipline and organization in all sectors of the national economy. There are frequent instances of an

irresponsible attitude toward fulfilling plans, and shirkers, loafers and slipshod workers—and those who cover up for them—are not being dealt with severely. Trade union organs frequently permit careless workers and drunkards to enjoy social privileges.

The second stage of perestroyka depends to a large extent upon how the changes in the economy are supported by ideological-moral, international and patriotic education, and by training the cadres in skills and in economics. It was emphasized in the reports and debates, that Obkom Secretary K.S. Omerbayeva has thus far done little to improve the activity of the ideological institutions; in propaganda and agitation departments and at scientific and academic institutions effective control and verification have not been established, and their workers are lacking in in-depth analysis. Scientific methods of ideological influence are slow to be introduced, and the influence of obkom departments is weak with respect to perestroyka in education and vocational-technical training, culture and sport, and atheist education. And they have not yet managed to make fundamental improvements in the work of the local newspapers and radio.

Having noted the increase in the role and responsibility of the Soviets of People's Deputies, the plenum nevertheless pointed out that the administration and the departments of the oblast ispolkom are chiefly occupied with creating paperwork, and are fond of working out various measures. The ispolkoms of the soviets are afraid to show initiative, and quite often are under the thumb of economic managers. The speakers stated that S.Sh. Shaukhamanov, a member of the obkom buro and chairman of the oblast ispolkom, must wage a more active struggle to overcome these shortcomings.

The trade unions have become somewhat more active, especially in carrying out the Housing-91 Program. But the process of their independence has not taken on the necessary scope. This is explained chiefly by the fact that the lower trade union organizations have not begun to work at full power. Quite a few other unresolved problems have accumulated as well. S.O. Mukashev, a party obkom buro member and chairman of the oblast trade-union society, must make increasing demands for their resolution.

A.S. Grebenshchikov, the obkom buro member who heads the oblast People's Control Committee, must become more actively involved in the issues of preventing violations, and in cutting off manifestations of liberalism and leniency toward mismanagement and wastefulness. Last summer, more than 20 yearling bulls perished due to negligence on the Semirechye Sovkhoz in Sarkandskiy Rayon. But the People's Control Commission sidestepped this disgraceful situation, and those directly responsible for the loss were let off with a mild warning.

As analysis of the report and the speeches shows, the obkom buro lags behind the urgent demands of the day in many respects, and its actions do not always lead to an effective solution of the problems which have accumulated. It is time to completely eliminate the braking mechanism. And here the first secretary of the party obkom must play a larger role.

The discussion showed that the oblast party organization is not trying to conceal the existing subjective causes and miscalculations; it is re-thinking its role as the party vanguard; and it is striving to achieve a state in which its work methods and means are adequate for the new requirements.

Speaking at the plenum were V.I. Pimenev, first deputy chief of the Machine-Building Department at the CPSU Central Committee; and O.V. Vinogradov, chief of the Party Organizational Work Department at the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

Also taking part in the work of the plenum were V.M. Miroshnik, candidate member of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro, and A.P. Piskunov, a responsible official at the CPSU Central Committee.

09006

#### **Consumer Service, Trade Problems Noted at Pavlodar Obkom Plenum**

18300129c Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 29 Dec 87 p2

[Report by correspondents B. Zhanymbetov and V. Stupak: "Entering the New Stage": "From the Pavlodar Obkom Party Plenum"]

[Text] In answer to its invitation in oblast newspapers to express one's observations and suggestions on what is most urgent in implementing perestroyka, the party obkom received 23 letters which directly concern the style of party work.

The members of the obkom heard even more critical thoughts at meetings and at raykom and gorkom plenums, which they held in the course of preparation for their plenum. The topics of the speech to be delivered by party obkom first secretary P.I. Yerpilov were published beforehand. All of this helped a great deal in avoiding the kind of self-serving reports that set one's teeth on edge, and in gaining a deeper comprehension and thorough analysis of the changes taking place.

"Measures undertaken in April of this year at an away session of the obkom buro, with the participation of the USSR ministries of the Coal Industry and Power Engineering, and the top leaders of the republic, proved to be the decisive turning point toward activeness for the Ekibastuz party organization. Today's successes would be even more tangible had all members of the obkom buro shown greater interest and demandingness. In my

opinion, it is better to adopt fewer resolutions, but to strive for their fulfillment to the final point." (From a speech by M. Duysenbayev, Ekibastuz gorkom first secretary).

"The positive achievements in the economy and in social development at the Pavlodar-Ekibastuz Territorial Industrial Complex are unquestionable, but party influence gives rise to dissatisfaction: there is a mass of problems and unfinished work." This thought was heard both in the report and in speeches—by a machinist from the boiler-turbine shop at Ekibastuz GRES-1; by obkom member G. Strekalov; by S. Donskoy, director of the Yermakov ferro-alloy plant; and by a number of other comrades.

For example, at Ekibastuz they have learned to supply fuel, power-engineering and thermal energy to the customers, without reductions. Nearly three million tons of coal was mined in excess of the plan; at GRES-1, 22 percent more electricity was generated than the year before; and for the first time 14 million rubles in above-plan profits were received. The waiting list for housing moved up by 30 percent; 4,228 families gave housewarming parties; and major health-care projects have been completed.

The spurts achieved during the past two years by the ferro-alloy plant have become famous throughout the republic. The plant began the five-year plan in arrears and operating at heavy losses; but this year it is crowning its achievement with above-plan deliveries of 50,000 tons of valuable alloys and 14 million rubles in profits. This was achieved due to the initiative and efforts of the many thousands of people in its collective. But do we remember what was the source of this success? It was the retooling program which brought the enterprise out of the breach, adopted and conducted jointly by the plant's collective, the party obkom, and the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy.

The very same effect was achieved at the oil-refining plant, where following a major accident at the neighboring TETs-3, the refinery was restored to stable operations.

However, at the plenum justifiable reproach was directed toward the party obkom apparat for its passion for operational-distributive functions. Irtyshskiy Party Raykom First Secretary A. Koshevoy is right ten times over for raising his voice against the notorious "authorities" who travel to the rayons in the tradition of past years to urge on the country hicks. This business is unsuitable. It diminishes and paralyzes the independence of the local comrades. And, one would think, it is no accident that one of the authors of the letters, M. Chaykin, hotly declared "That is not inspiration, but coercion."

From what do both the cause and the collectives suffer most of all? From the indifference and inattentiveness of the party organs, or when that which is started is not brought to a conclusion? Judge for yourselves: the oblast today is not fulfilling the plan for trade goods by 7.8 million rubles, and the tractor plant has underfulfilled its production plan by 38 million rubles. The oblast has not fulfilled its obligations for deliveries by 88 million rubles, to include 62 million rubles for the tractor makers.

"But did we really fail to see such an outcome? Did we really not know what we were headed for?"—said Obkom Second Secretary K. Shakirimov, who is responsible for industry, directing his questions to the plenum in self-criticism. "If we did not foresee it; if we did not know; that means we are incompetent, and we are leading without knowing our business. To our shame, we knew everything. And we did not confront the empty promises of the Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building and its libertarian decisions in a principled manner, with a party and state approach based on proper engineering and economic calculations."

"I am a frequent visitor to the oblast party committee; and it is plainly obvious that they do a lot of writing here, and there are a great many papers in the mill. There is an exceptional amount of resolutions of various kinds, although their 'differences' primarily concern their titles. Is that not why the officials in the apparat do not have enough time for personal organizational work?" (From a speech by V. Pogudin, a grinding mill operator at the instrument plant, and member of the obkom party buro.)

"Not once have I been invited to prepare questions for the plenum. And after all, the opinion of a worker could help work out the proper solution. Nor have any responsible officials met with me when they visited our farm. I suggest that we, the ordinary members of the obkom, be enlisted for the real work, and that we not be made 'honored guests.'" (From the speech of A. Alkenyeva, a milkmaid at the Peschanskiy stock farm.)

Complaints about the preeminence of paperwork, about the fact that certain party officials are out of touch with life and are divorced from the urgent needs of the people, resounded from the rostrum repeatedly, and were not embellished in the reports.

Where does the cause lie for such a pernicious, and as it turned out, hard-to-uproot phenomenon? In age-old habit: directly duplicating and distributing in the form of controlling documents the very same resolutions which in the majority of cases were published in the press. Today over 160 resolutions by the buro are being monitored, of which one-third are long-term.

Another "generator" of paperwork, which is not losing energy, is the multitude of commissions. In the localities their endless arrivals are regarded as a disaster. They flaunt, as a rule, the name of the higher authorities in

whose behalf they have come. And they demand, first of all, papers. And, after writing down all sorts of information, they return to Alma-Ata or to Moscow, having helped matters hardly at all. They have merely detracted from them. In December alone about a dozen such inspection brigades descended on us.

"How long will it be like that?" they asked at the plenum. "This is undermining the authority of perestroika!"

And nevertheless the basic firepower of criticism this time was aimed not at those above, and not below—which is what they most often resort to at party discussions—but at themselves or at the lateral levels. In this sense the plenum was an uncommon one. Most members of the buro "took some heat" and rightly so. About half of them had to respond from the rostrum for their own actions or lack of action with respect to the course of perestroika. Of course, some people were agitated, and considerably so; such openness and mutual exactingness by communists has not been heard for a long time.

For example, party Obkom First Secretary P. Yerpilov was criticized for neglecting many of the oblast's future problems; Oblast Ispolkom Chairman Zh. Iskakov was criticized for devoting little attention to problems of trade, everyday services and medicine. M. Makeyev, secretary for construction, was told to his face that he loves to switch off economic administrators; and Secretary O. Shikhaleyev, who is in charge of agriculture, and M. Taneyev, chairman of the oblast agro-industrial commission, were "given a bad time" for their sluggishness in implementing decisions. And all of this was expressed not to those above, or those below, but to their very own comrades.

One would think that in spite of the sharpness of many of the statements, no one took offense; after all, the remarks were not made for personal reasons, but from a desire to help the cause, the principal cause of our time—perestroika. For the accounting report of the buro this was a difficult test. And as the plenum decreed, acknowledging the work of the buro on leadership of perestroika to be satisfactory, they passed the test.

But the communists were also disturbed by another matter—how to proceed with the new stage of revolutionary transformations? The people from Pavlodar have a great many problems on this path. Here they have the introduction of economic accountability, without which the majority of the collectives will be unable to exist in the new year; and here literally everyone—from supervisors of the highest rank to ordinary laborers—must become fully literate in economics. And here is also further development of democratic principles in their work.

To this day many shortcomings and difficulties on the social plane and in cultural-educational work among the public have not been overcome. This was sharply spoken of at the plenum by N. Kachurina, a poultry handler at

the Avangard Sovkhoz; by A. Simon, first secretary of the Shcherbaktinskiy Party Raykom; by V. Danilevs-kaya, a milkmaid at the Mikhaylovskiy Sovkhoz; and by other comrades.

Communists must seek the answers to such questions, vitally important for our times, in increased personal output, and in overcoming their own inertia in mastering the new thinking and methods of working with the people.

Taking part in the work of the plenum were V.M. Frolyshev, first deputy chief of the Heavy Industry and Power Engineering Department at the CPSU Central Committee; V.S. Berlizev, a responsible official at the CPSU Central Committee; and N.F. Krasnoselskiy, chief of the Construction and Municipal Facilities Department of the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

09006

### Zhitomir Obkom Plenum Noted

18110050[Editorial Report]Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian on 17 Jan 1988 carries on page 3 a 2400-word report on the results of the Zhitomir Obkom Plenum. The report indicates that P. P. Polishchuk, an obkom secretary, was held responsible for shortcomings in the oblast's machine building industry. Also, V.M. Kavun, Zhitomir Obkom first secretary, was criticized for not sharing more responsibility with other secretaries and members of the obkom buro.

The plenum gave the oblast's agro-industrial complex good ratings for the first two years of the current 5-year plan.

Cadre policies were criticized. Within the last two years 180 heads of party organizations as well as secretaries were released from duties (included in this number were 34 nomenklatura obkom workers.)

The UkSSR Gosagroprom was censured for poor progress in the gas main project for Berdichevskiy rayon. The republic ministries of light industry, local industry and construction industry were also criticized by the plenum for shortcomings in the social-economic development of the oblast.

V.A. Masol, member of the CP CC UkSSR Politburo and head of the UkSSR Council of Ministers, took part in the plenum. Masol reproached the oblast's construction industry for its lag in restructuring. He also noted that even though the situation in Zhitomir Oblast's agro-industrial complex has improved, the "possibilities for increase in the production of foodstuffs have not yet been fully realized." V.A. Masol also noted shortcomings in the oblast's consumer goods sphere.

V.I. Nakonechniy, deputy secretary of the CP CC Party-Organizational Work Department also took part in the plenum.

### Appointment of Non-"Apparatchik" as Tajik Trade Union Chairman Lauded

18120064a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 6, 14-21 Feb 88 p 8

[Article by Yuri Magel, AGITATOR TADZHIKISTANA correspondent: "Worker and Trade Union Leader of a Republic"]

[Text] When the post of Chairman of Tajik Republican Council of Trade Unions went vacant at the close of last year, there was no shortage of forecasts about who would fill it. As usual, well-known leaders of different organizations, including trade union, were named. However, unanimously elected to the post was Murodali Salikhov, 37, leader of a team of fitters and decorators at the Dushanbezhilstroï (house building) Association.

This upset the long tradition of recommending to positions of responsibility "apparatchiks" who had to their credit age and a long list of "command" posts. Regrettably, not all these "distinguished" promotees lived up to the hopes of those who gave them their votes.

Today the election of the new leader is a subject of active discussion. Some tend to consider what happened as a mark of the times, the price of new and serious approaches to seemingly long-established things sharply increasing. Others see it as a repeat of the same old neglected disease which has led to a lack of "reserve" for promotion. Indeed: Murodali was elected to replace Abdurakhman Dadabayev, an authoritative leader who had previously worked for many years as a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and who was only recently returned to that post.

I believe that those for whom the ongoing changes are one of the logical signs of democratization in political life are much closer to the truth. For us the invariably broad representation of workers and collective farmers in elective bodies is nothing out of the ordinary. Yet the immediate promotion of rank-and-file workers to key posts in the state and public apparatus is a rare event. Hence the difference in assessments.

Can yesterday's builder become a real representative of the workers in the leading apparatus of the most massive public organization? Time alone will tell. But isn't it precisely this time that will bring to the fore - to trade union leadership - those who have not lost touch with the working-class environment in which they were brought up? Let me note in passing that Salikhov has had a wealth of experience in public and state activities - as deputy, twice, to the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR, Vice-President of the Republic's Supreme Soviet, Secretary and Presidium Member of the Tajik Republican

Council of Trade Unions, and as Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan. I think that, coupled with 20 years of production experience, honoured, incidentally, with three medals and the title of Leninist Komsomol Prize winner, this is not so little.

**BSSR CP CC Buro on Zhlobin Gorkom, Other Issues**

*18000082b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 13 Nov 87 pl*

[Unattributed report: "In the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] At a meeting on 11 November the Buro of the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee examined the question relating to the work of the Zhlobin gorkom of the Belorussian CP as concerns the fulfillment of party decisions on strengthening the struggle with the embezzlement of socialist property. It was noted that the Belorussian CP gorkom (first secretary — A. A. Zaytsev) is restructuring its work extremely unsatisfactorily in this direction and that it does not analyze the status of the preservation of socialist property or the reasons for negative manifestations.

In a number of party organizations among some of the communist managers formalism in work has not yet been eliminated and executive discipline is low. Control over the fulfillment of the decisions that were passed has been poorly organized. Requirements of the party and government about the fact that the directors of associations, enterprises, institutions and organizations bear a personal responsibility for the preservation of socialist property are being implemented unsatisfactorily. Many party organizations do not carry out an aggressive war against wastefulness and plunderers of the public good, and maintain a position of detached observer in them.

Gross errors are being tolerated in the selection of cadres for management and economically-responsible positions, as is a lack of control over their work. The activeness of ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies, of trade union and komsomol organizations and of legal organs have been weak in rooting out embezzlement and violations of Soviet law. The power of the influence of labor collectives, the public, criticism, self-criticism and glasnost is being utilized poorly for these purposes.

Significant losses of physical and financial assets have been tolerated due to their uneconomic expenditure, mismanagement and the manufacture of poor-quality products. The amount of embezzlement and petty thievery is not decreasing.

The Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee required that the party gorkom implement specific measures to decisively restructure work with the goal of strengthening state and labor discipline and the responsibility of cadres for the preservation of socialist property in all branches of the national economy and in the service sphere. The attention of party and soviet organs and economic managers has been turned to the necessity to bring strict order to account-keeping, maintenance and expenditure of monetary and material resources.

The Belorussian CB Central Committee Buro examined questions that touch on the implementation of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee concerning holding plenums of party committees and meetings of communists to discuss the reports of elective organs on the work to manage restructuring.

Approved at the meeting of the Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee was the initiative of the Mogilev party obkom and oblispolkom regarding increasing the volume of housing construction in rural areas on the basis of developing additional capacities for the production of building materials using the capital and resources of oblast enterprises and organizations. It has been recommended to Belorussian CP gorkoms, oblispolkoms and BSSR ministries and departments to support and develop in every way possible the initiative of the Mogilev people, to elaborate and implement a concrete program of extensive and effective use of production capacities and economic and financial assets of enterprises and organizations to increase the output of building materials, the technical reequipping of plants producing these materials and the manufacture of the means of mechanization for building operations, which will facilitate growth in the volume of construction of housing and of other objects that are earmarked for social purposes.

The Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee has passed a resolution about the development in the republic of capacities for the production of feed yeast and other microbiological products for the needs of livestock raising. It noted that the BSSR Ministry of Construction (S. V. Bril) and the Belorussian Rural Construction Association (L. M. Chura) have tolerated significant underfulfillment of building-installation work related to the construction of enterprises for the given branch. The scientific-production association Belbiotekhnologiya (V. R. Vaaks) is unsatisfactorily carrying out work to develop the microbiological industry within the republic.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro has demanded from the directors of the aforementioned ministries and organizations the unconditional fulfillment of plan tasks related to the introduction into operation of production capacities in a complex with objects earmarked for social-general consumer service

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## PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

purposes. Belorussian CP obkoms have been given the assignment of establishing strict controls over the timely and quality implementation of this work.

At the meeting decisions on several other questions of party work and economic and socio-cultural development were examined and passed. 8228

**'Slanderous' Radio Liberty Programs on  
Azerbaijan Blasted**

18300049 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
23 Oct 87 p 3

[Article by R. Veliyev, member, commission on relations with foreign writers, Azerbaijan Union of Writers: "The 'Detailed Notes' of Slander"]

[Text] There are no facts which cannot be distorted. This works something like the figures 6 and 9: either one can be depicted by rotating the page, yet they are not really the same figure. The conclusion: it all depends on how one looks at it. Let us suppose that something happened to someone, for instance, that he lost his wallet. Retold, different people say this in different ways. A sympathizer might say that he was probably tired, so he was absent-minded and just unlucky. Someone inclined to exaggerate might claim that he had heard that the man's wallet was stolen. The ad-libber also goes on with the "details." The maligner then comments in his own way: this person was mixed up in some sort of shady business. Something about it was related to the wallet, to the theft. That is, like a Chekhovian hero, one recalls: "That which he stole is that which they stole from him." The main point is that, while the basis is actual fact, it looks so tempting, grilled on both sides, to various types of false rumors, gossip and slander. This is the preferred method of bourgeois ideologists, who zealously broadcast on radio "Liberty."

Judge for yourself. The program "Detailed Notes on Azerbaijani History, Intelligentsia and Youth" stated on the air that Azerbaijani youth do not want to make peace with the country's existing system, and that 14,000 teachers in Baku do not have work! There is mass unemployment... So it goes, in general.

Hold it. This is malevolence and demagoguery: it cannot be called anything else. Why? Because we all know this fact well, if only from the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. However, we also know something else. Graduating teachers receive job assignments. In rural, particularly in remote areas of Azerbaijan, there is a acute shortage of these specialists. The problem lies in the fact that many of them are not at their assigned work place. Why? This is yet another subject. However, speaking of unemployment falsifies the basic nature of the phenomenon! Many problems here are of both a subjective as well as an objective nature. One ought to speak of the true situation of things.

Who benefits from all of this? Who prepares radio commentaries on all of our multifaceted phenomena? Who is interested in thoroughly cooking the facts? They can be counted on one's fingers. Meet Abdurragin Avtarkhanov, an economist by education. During the Great October War he deserted from the ranks of the Soviet Army. He has compensated for the feeling of his own worthlessness with malevolence toward his native homeland. His book, "The Last Empire", is a source for

the diversionary tricks of the writers of transmissions for the ubiquitous radio station "Liberty." This is what Avtarkhanov asserts: "...Every Soviet citizen from the day of his birth until his death is kept under total police surveillance. As it is said, a scientifically prepared system of terror, diverse in form, is applied against any dissidents, individually or as a group..."

Is this terrible? Like a Bengal light, it seems to burn, but not hotly. Rather, it is ridiculous. However, the dish was prepared in the event that someone might swallow it...

Our good-for-nothing compatriot Murad Shekili, one of the most active servants of the CIA, alone still weeps crocodile tears for his homeland. Radio "Liberty" fairly often entrusts the microphone to this so-called journalist, and he selflessly dumps mud upon his native hearth, even upon the native village in which he was born and raised. This vile slanderer, not balking at the most base scandals, calls himself a researcher and expert on Soviet Azerbaijan and claims to "objectively" comment on the events occurring here. How does he do this? Through the prism of the 1930s, through that distant atmosphere, he comments on everything which happens here today.

Ali Gyandzhali, Medzhid Musayev, Suleyman Mamedov and other "cooks" who have become famous for preparing their reeking anti-Soviet slop, go on the air with the words: "Radio 'Liberty'—an independent radio station." However, they are not speaking their own words or their own thoughts—they operate under unrelenting control, according to orders, and not at all for free. The one who pays is the same one who orders the music. The CIA does not skimp on material support for renegades...

Our ideological adversaries are maintaining a conspiracy of silence on the subject of all healthy processes taking place in Azerbaijan. They are not concerned with the true nature of things—that would be disadvantageous. Better immediately to reject everything, even the work of our scientists and writers. However, the scientific studies of Azerbaijani scientists and their research in recent years have been published in various countries of the world—in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, America, the FRG, Italy and Japan. Furthermore, it is essentially not worthwhile for our well-paid "compatriots" abroad to make certain of this, by reading the collection "Proceedings of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences", the newspapers PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, ZA RUBEZHOM, and the magazines NOVOYE VREMYA and KURYER UNESCO...

Many "Liberty" transmissions are devoted to our literature, to fables built around the lives and creativity of our writers. In the opinion of these expertly lying "Azerbaijanis," who speak with an obvious accent, "the actual production situation, taking shape in Azerbaijan, cannot provide a theme for works of art."

How absurd...

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## **MEDIA, PROPAGANDA**

In his day V.I. Lenin pointed out that, in proportion to the reduction in the bourgeoisie's ideological influence, it resorts to the most repugnant falsehood, to slander, and will do this in the future.

Every new transmission on the waves of radio "Liberty" attests to this. Every broadcast on the air is held in one genre—in that of the "detailed notes" of slander.

13362

**Mikoyan Memoirs Explain Reason for Post-Lenin Support for Stalin**

18300127 Moscow *OGONEK* in Russian No 50,  
12-19 Dec 87 pp 5-7

[Article by A. I. Mikoyan: "For the First Time Without Lenin"]

[Text]

**Before the Congress**

Three days before the convening of the 13th Party Congress, the delegation from the North Caucasus elected by the kray party conferences set out for Moscow. I, together with Voroshilov, who at that time commanded the North Caucasus Military District, set out somewhat earlier, since we members of the Central Committee also had to be present at the pre-Congress Central Committee Plenum. In the days when Voroshilov and I were getting ready to go Moscow, I sent my wife, who was expecting our second child, to Kislovodsk. That is where she gave birth in 1924 to our son, whom we called Volodya [1] in honor of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin who had died 5 months earlier.

We went via the Tbilisi-Moscow express train together with Ordzhonikidze, Kirov, Orakholashvili and Myasnikyan (whom we joined in Rostov). Naturally, along the way there was a lot of talk about the upcoming Plenum and Congress, about our position in the party, and about the general state of the country. We had all been friends for a long time, and there was much which associated me personally with the Transcaucasus.

The years 1923 and 1924 were characterized by considerable achievements in the work of restoring the national economy, in foreign policy, and in the development of foreign trade. As a result of two good harvests in a row, we were able not only to resolve the food crisis in the country, but also to notably increase bread exports. For the first time in our trade we achieved a favorable trade balance on the whole. This yielded an additional significant sum of currency which, on one hand, served as a certain guarantee in the case of some unexpected economic difficulties and whims of nature, and on the other allowed us to allocate around 50 million rubles for above-plan purchases of raw materials which we needed from abroad (cotton, leather, rubber) for our light industry enterprises. The purchase of these raw materials allowed us to increase the load on these enterprises and to perfect the production of consumer goods which are so necessary to rural areas. All this was done counter to the prescriptions of the Trotskyite opposition, which proposed the policy of the so-called "commodity intervention", i.e., the extensive import of ready-made industrial consumer goods from abroad.

In the political life of the country the most important event at that time was Lenin's call of the workers to the party announced by the Central Committee, as a result of which the best, most stable, devoted, honest and brave sons of the proletariat entered the party.

There was also a large upsurge of political activity among the working peasantry. In the North Caucasus (where I worked as kraykom secretary), as well as in many other agricultural regions of the country, this was felt most strongly. Considering the great desire of many peasants—the poor and the middle-income—to become communists, shortly before the 13th Party Congress, in April of 1924, the Party Central Committee passed a resolution on the acceptance of 20,000 leading peasants into the party—for a general strengthening of the ties between the party and the village, and especially the national districts.

The 13th Party Congress was preceded by extensive preparatory work. The published summaries of speeches on the agenda of the forthcoming Congress allowed thousands of communists at the sites of the party conferences to broadly discuss the questions which were introduced for consideration by the Party Congress, and to arm their delegates with specific proposals.

**A Letter From the Leader**

We understood very well our great responsibility for the work of the Party Congress. After all, it was the first time it was held without Lenin. While at the preceding 12th Party Congress, from which Lenin was absent due to illness, we were able to be guided at least indirectly, but still by his personal directives, now we had to resolve the questions ourselves and to try to do so as if the living Lenin were with us.

At the Plenum, which was held on 21 May 1924, Kamenev, speaking at the directive of the Politburo, reported that 3 days ago (18 May) N.K. Krupskaya, fulfilling the wishes of the late Vladimir Ilyich, forwarded to the Central Committee his "Letter to the Congress", which subsequently became known as "Lenin's Will".

With great worry I listened to Lenin's letter, which was imbued with the greatest concern for the fate of the party, for the need to preserve its unity, one of whose guarantees Lenin always considered the cohesiveness and unity of the Central Committee as the organ of collective leadership of the party. The concern which Lenin experienced in connection with all this was transferred to us, the Plenum participants. Concerned by the situation which had arisen in the Central Committee, Lenin characterized its individual members, expressed his fears and doubts in connection with this, gave political advice on how to retain stability within the Central Committee and how to protect it against possible schism.

Expressing, in essence, his mistrust of Trotsky in connection with his characteristic "non-Bolshevism" and his interests in the administrative aspect of the cause, Lenin at the same time warned the party about the shortcomings of certain other leading party activists (Zinovyev, Kamenev, Bukharin, and Pyatkov), giving each of them objective and remarkably precise characteristics.

In speaking of Stalin, Lenin stressed that, having become Secretary General of the Party Central Committee [2], Stalin "concentrated in his hands immense power, and I am not sure whether he will always use this power with sufficient care". Therefore, Lenin proposed "rethinking a method for transferring Stalin from this post and appointing to it someone else, who differs from comrade Stalin in all other respects by only one trait. Specifically, he must be more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to his comrades, be less capricious, etc."

Having read this letter, Kamenev stated that the Politburo, considering the will of Vladimir Ilyich, enters the suggestion to bring this document of Lenin to the attention of the Congress delegates. However, the Politburo suggested that it be read and discussed not at the plenary meeting, but in the delegations. This "detail" in itself was already significant. Kamenev added that the Politburo recommends that in discussing Lenin's letter [the delegates] proceed from the possibility of retaining Stalin in the position of Secretary General, since he admits the shortcomings in his character as noted by Lenin, and promises to draw the necessary conclusions from them.

I believe that such a proposal by the Politburo reflected the contradictions inherent in it, primarily the fear of Zinovyev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov and others of a relative intensification in the role of Trotsky. This proposal also contained a tendency toward a departure from the fulfillment of Lenin's will.

The Politburo proposal was not discussed at the Plenum because no one expressed an opposing opinion. The Plenum adopted the Politburo's proposal on the order of acquainting the Congress delegates with Lenin's letter and decided that it should not be subject to widespread publication, since it was intended only for the Congress delegates.

### The Decision of the Congress

Lenin's "Letter to the Congress" was read and discussed in each delegation. All of them were in favor of retaining Stalin in the position of Central Committee Secretary General.

What did we, the Congress delegates, proceed from in this case?

All of us had just witnessed before our very eyes the bitter struggle of the Central Committee majority with Trotsky and his proponents. Stalin played a large role in this struggle, skillfully and argumentatively defending Lenin's concept of how we should proceed.

We, the Congress delegates, could also not help but consider the fact that Stalin's candidacy as Central Committee Secretary General met no opposition at the Plenum from a single Politburo member, even though Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinovyev had pretensions after Lenin's death toward "leading roles" in the leadership of the party, and there were also such authoritative men as Bukharin and Rykov.

Looking back into the past, I believe that in spite of Lenin's warning, some of them did not see in Stalin a serious rival, while others did not recognize him as a pretender to the role of a leader of the Bonapartist type. Therefore, they preferred to retain him rather than to put forth one of the party leaders who was more authoritative than Stalin and who had prestige in the quality of theoretician and ideologist. They were afraid that such a leader might impose his will more than Stalin and might bring detriment to collective leadership. Today this appears not merely strange, but even incredible. But, in my opinion, that is exactly the way it was.

We noted also that "Lenin's Will" expressed critical comments aimed at many party leaders—along with a high evaluation of them—and that he did not propose a specific candidate instead of Stalin. If he had done so, the Politburo, and especially the Central Committee and the Congress delegates, would not have gone counter to Lenin's proposal. Moreover, we, of course, hoped that Stalin himself would take Lenin's sharp criticism into consideration, especially since he gave assurances of this. I must admit that many of us simply did not know about these qualities in Stalin. On the contrary, when he met with rank-and-file members of the Central Committee and other leading party workers, he always acted in an emphatically friendly manner, listened attentively, and showed no signs of "bossiness", capriciousness or boastfulness. At the 13th Congress itself, which as usual was heated and full of polemics, he spoke only two times. The rest of the time he sat quietly in the presidium and didn't even once take the chairman's bell into his hands. I believe I was not the only one who noticed this and positively evaluated such behavior by Stalin. Only years later could we come to the conclusion that such emphatically humble behavior was dictated by the recently held discussion of "Lenin's Will" in the Central Committee, with its proposal about replacing him with someone else. Moreover, it became clear that such behavior was calculated to win the trust of the Central Committee members and the active party membership in his planned struggle against the Politburo members, which later turned into mass repressions against the party itself.

Of course, I was greatly influenced by Lenin's "Letter to the Congress", and it was tortuously difficult for me—and not just me alone—not to agree with Lenin's proposal. The only justification could be the fact that after

the letter had been dictated by Lenin, Stalin was able to play a major role in unifying the Leninist cadres around the main nucleus of the Central Committee. This helped the party to emerge from the struggle with Trotsky in a united and cohesive state. After all, Trotsky seemed like the main threat.

Speaking for myself, I can say that I knew "two Stalins". One whom I greatly valued and respected as a senior comrade—for about the first 10 years, and then quite another in the subsequent period. In the 20's I would never have believed that he was capable of crimes, and what crimes! Of course, we at the local sites guessed that there was a struggle going on in the Politburo, but we believed that the Central Committee would always be able to hold the general situation under its control and to ensure the preservation of Lenin's intra-party democracy. That is how we, the rank-and-file members of the Central Committee, viewed our task.

Gradually it became clear that the full preservation of the balance which had been maintained under Lenin, was more and more difficult to retain. But we never thought about "severing" anyone from party leadership. The struggle of opinions was viewed as a normal phenomenon. Stalin thoroughly concealed his true goals in this struggle. Even the "severance" from leadership which had begun was represented by him as an inevitable delimitation and the impossibility of retaining the status quo in the Politburo without Lenin. Sometimes—for the last time in 1926—he would give an ultimatum: either the question is to be resolved in his favor, or he would leave... Such ultimatums were more often presented in indirect form, but always at the moment when it seemed to most of the Central Committee members that his departure would lead to a schism as a result of the dangerous increase in power of Trotsky or Zinoviev, who were prone to "dictatorial" ways. I was only able to realize in full measure the dictatorial potential and actions of Stalin himself only when it became impossible to combat them. Ordzhonikidze and Kirov, with whom I was very close and whose moods I knew, were, I believe, also fooled by the "first" image of Stalin. Even in the winter of 1934 at the 17th Party Congress, when he received the greatest number of votes from the Congress delegates in the Central Committee elections and the proposal from a group of Congress delegates to become the General Secretary, Kirov declined, thereby showing the loyalty and principle characteristic of this most honest man. He told Stalin about all this, but was met with only hatred and revenge aimed at the entire Congress, and of course, at Kirov himself.

I only found out about this some twenty-odd years later. After Stalin's death, the old bolsheviks A. V. Snegov and O. G. Shatunovskaya returned from exile. I had known the former since the 1920's, and I met Olya back in 1918, when she was Stepan Shaumyan's secretary in Baku. Khrushchev also knew them for a long time. They told Khrushchev and me many things about which we were unclear or of which we had no idea. Then Shatunovskaya

went to work at the Kazakh CP. In investigating the matter of Kirov's murder, the Kazakh CP had documented evidence that only three votes were cast against him at the 17th Congress, and almost 100 times more were cast against Stalin. The chairman of the vote counting commission Zatonskiy and Kaganovich, who was responsible for its work to the Congress Presidium confidentially reported on this to Stalin. The latter demanded that there also remain 3 votes against him. The counting was done for 13 individual commissions. A member of one of these was my friend from the seminary, N. Andreasyan. He told me that in his commission alone there had been 27 votes cast against Stalin. And a member of the large ballot counting commission was Verkhoviykh, who had miraculously survived after 18 years of imprisonment. Thus, it was becoming clear that, first of all, Kirov was a rival in Stalin's eyes, and secondly that there was growing dissatisfaction with Stalin in the party, including also in its top level echelon, even after the defeat of all the opposition groups. All this opened our eyes to many things...

At first Stalin treated Kirov quite well. But then events occurred which cannot be interpreted in any other way than attempts to "tame" Kirov. In his intra-party politics, Stalin preferred to rely on Molotov, Kaganovich, then Zhdanov, and still later on Beriia and Malenkov. Zhdanov was not a bad person, but was extremely weak willed. At times he could become the instrument for the most ugly affairs in the hands of the intriguers and primarily Stalin himself.

In talking about Kirov, I cannot help but recall a short article in PRAVDA signed with the name "Zorich" about an official who had come from Baku to a spacious apartment in Leningrad, where he got two dogs. Pure demagoguery! But it was uncomfortable. After all, everyone knew who we were talking about. Yet Mekhlis would never have run such an article without the direct order from Stalin. And once at the Politburo he organized a discussion of the "unfortunate" phrases in Kirov's article published in 1913!

Getting back to the 13th Congress, I would like to say that, unfortunately, only in the subsequent period of Stalin's activity, already in the late 20's and especially starting with the 1930's, those same negative traits became evident which Lenin pointed out in his "Will"—and not only those!—on a scale which was impossible to foresee at that time. Such was our horrible, tragic payment for not fulfilling the will of Ilyich.

### On Red Square

After the conclusion of the first Congress session, we all went to Red Square to Lenin's tomb. A ceremonial parade of Young Pioneers was held there, who had come to greet the 13th Party Congress.

The Congress delegates stood on either side of the Mausoleum, while the presidium members got up on it. At that time the Mausoleum was still temporary and made of wood. Only later did it become as we know it today. Over 10,000 Young Pioneers lined up on Red Square. It was a sea of children's heads, red Pioneer neckties and flowers. Excitement gripped all of us when Komsomol Central Committee representative Vasyutin announced that henceforth the Pioneer organization would be named after the great Lenin.

After several salutations by members of the Congress Presidium and a speech permeated with pathos by the famous German communist Klara Tsetkin, one of the oldest participants in the international workers movement, the honorable Felix Kon, spoke. In his appearance he was reminiscent of an ancient wise man. He had fluffy grey hair, a full grey beard, thick eyebrows under which intelligent, sparkling eyes gazed out, very clear for a man his age.

"I, as one of the oldest," he said, addressing the Pioneers, "have been given the task of exacting from you a solemn pledge".

He read the text of the solemn pledge, which the thousands of Pioneers on the Square repeated in chorus.

"Always ready!" the wave of Pioneer voices rolled over Red Square.

These were unforgettable moments. When the parade was over, the Congress delegates entered the Mausoleum. We walked silently past the sarcophagus.

#### About the Tasks of the Party

The organizational report of the Central Committee which Stalin presented at the Congress was rather laconic. Built on specific facts presented calmly and without any polemics, it presented an analysis of the state of the mass organizations which tie the party with the workers.

Zinovyev, Kamenev and Molotov all presented long speeches. The questions associated with the work with communists of Leninist calling was broadly discussed, since this topic encompassed all the basic problems around which our party work had developed at that time. To involve young communists in practical party and soviet work, to tie them in with the everyday life of the state, party, professional, cooperative and other organizations, to correctly organize their Marxist-Leninist upbringing and education—that is how we understood our circle of tasks for the further expansion and strengthening of the working nucleus within the make-up of the party, for the rejuvenation of party work and the expansion of intra-party democracy.

Trotsky, referring to his political errors, quoted a well-known English proverb: "My country, right or wrong", and ended his speech, as always, with an effective, pretty

phrase about the fact that "...if the party makes a decision which one of us considers unfair, he must say: fair or unfair, it is my party and I bear the consequences of its decision to the end".

Many of the delegates to the Congress (Rudzutak, Chaplin, Yaroslavskiy, Krupskaya and others spoke out after Trotsky on the question of opposition) sharply criticized the positions of Trotsky and his followers.

The Congress happily, with applause, unanimously approved the political line and organizational activity of the Central Committee.

#### Cooperation, Trade, and the Village

A large part of the work performed by the Congress involved questions of trade, cooperation, and the problems of our villages which are closely tied to them. In speaking of trade, the speakers and Congress delegates proceeded from Lenin's teachings about the fact that under certain conditions "trade is the only possible economic tie between tens of millions of small farmers and large industry...". As noted at the Congress, private capital was still dominant in the country's retail trade, and in the 1922/23 fiscal year it accounted for 93.4 percent of the total sum of this trade turnover. The ratio of private to state-cooperative capital was better in wholesale-retail trade on the whole: about 50-50. And only in the sphere of wholesale trade did the state and cooperation account for 85.5 percent, and private capital for only 14.5 percent. The primary task was to win the huge peasant market and to gradually force out private capital. In this connection, the development of state trade and the strengthening of all forms of cooperation in the village took on particular significance. "The weakness of cooperation on the farm," noted the Congress, "is the weakest link in the association of proletarian industry with the peasantry".

Speaking on the work in the village, Kalinin, as always, told in a very lively and intelligible manner about the state of affairs on the farm and of the party policy in this sphere. In speaking of the course of the class struggle in the village, he especially stressed that this struggle is also complicated by the fact that rural communists, in trying to overcome kulakism, often classify certain more or less "strong middle peasants" among the kulaks.

In connection with this, Mikhail Ivanovich referred to Lenin's repeated remarks about the relation of the party to the middle peasant, and about the fact that "we must live with him in peace". He convincingly demonstrated that the struggle against kulakism must take place primarily with the comprehensive development of all types of cooperation on the farm.

Speaking after Kalinin as his co-speaker, Krupskaya primarily concentrated her attention on the state of school education in the village and on the organization of political education there. She spoke about the sorry

state of the rural schools and hut reading rooms, about the difficult material position of rural teachers, and about the fact that there is a shortage of pencils, notebooks and textbooks in rural schools.

On that same day of work by the Congress, we were told that several tens of thousands of "educators" had gathered in Red Square. These were teachers who at their own initiative had come to demonstrate their devotion and respect to our party. They also sent a delegation to the Congress. Zinovyev greeted them in Red Square in the name of the Congress.

The delegates left Moscow for their places of work with the feeling that the 13th Congress had gone in a friendly manner, under the banner of party cohesiveness. Speaking about its results at a meeting of the active membership of the kray party organization in Rostov, I said: "This Congress clearly confirmed the ability of the party to successfully fulfill the primary will of Ilyich about the socialist means of our country's development".

#### The Hardships of the Crop Failure Year

In the spring of 1924 I had another flare-up of tuberculosis of the lungs, more serious than the preceding spring. I became thin and physically weak. Evidently, I looked very sickly, because later, early in July, when I had occasion to be in Moscow on business, Stalin and my other comrades from the Central Committee noticed this.

The medical commission diagnosed my physical state as being severe and prescribed prolonged treatment of no less than 3-4 months. However, I wasn't able to take this vacation right away. By that time it had become quite clear that there would be a large crop failure in many rayons of our kray. In a number of rayons in Stavropol, Tersk, Salsk, Morozovo and Sunzhensk Okrugs, as well as the Kabardino-Balkar and the Ingush Autonomous Oblasts there had been almost no rain that year. The grain crops were drying out in the fields, and in many villages there was a shortage of drinking water.

To save their cattle, the peasants began herding them to Kuban, where the situation with water and fodder was more favorable. For the same reason, many slaughtered their cattle on site to sell them at market. As a result, the herd size began to decline drastically in these rayons.

Urgent measures had to be taken to overcome the difficult consequences of the drought. With the approval of the kraykom buro, my vacation was put off for a month—until the most urgent measures in the struggle with the hardship which had befallen our kray could be taken.

The rayons which had suffered from the draught and crop failure needed immediate aid. We understood that after the harvest we would be able to help these rayons at the expense of those okrugs where the crop was expected

to be good (Kuban, Don, and certain others). However, the affected rayons needed immediate support. Therefore, we decided to mobilize certain reserves of bread and immediately send them to the rayons which had been hard hit so as to reduce bread prices there which had been raised by local speculators and kulaks as a result of the draught.

To a certain degree, we were able to achieve this goal. However, in order to ensure the crop for the coming year and not to allow a reduction of planting in the kray, it was necessary to supply the peasant farms with seeds.

At the decision of the kraykom, I went urgently to Moscow to report to the Central Committee and the Sovnarkom on the situation which had arisen in our region and to ask them to aid our kray with seeds and monies from the centralized funds.

The Tsaritsyn and Astrakhan Provinces had suffered that year from the drought, and partially also the Saratov and Penza Provinces. Therefore, the USSR Sovnarkom formed a Government Commission which included several narkoms under the leadership of SNK [Soviet of People's Commissars] Chairman Rykov to give aid to all these provinces.

After lengthy debates in the commission, we were given support. The centralized seed reserves in the country at that time were not great, yet the commission felt it was possible to allocate 2.5 million poods of grain out of the reserve 9 million poods which it had at its disposal for winter sowing, and to give us around 2 million rubles in credit to the peasants (in gold valuation) through the Selkhozbank.

Moreover, the USSR government excused those rayons where the crops had completely perished from paying food tax, and reduced the tax (with its retention for local needs) in rayons where the grain crops had greatly suffered from the drought. That was a great help.

A plan for distribution of seeds and funds was ratified for the kraykom buro. The local organizations were given a strict directive to distribute the seeds only among the peasants in the rayons which had suffered from the drought. They were given a seed load (with the most favorable conditions) and credit for cattle in monetary form. In this case the peasants had to promise to keep the cattle. The crop failure hit the small peasant farms the hardest. Therefore, they were the first to be given aid.

It was necessary to ensure the strictest control over whom the seeds and funds were allocated to so that the seeds would be used specifically for planting, and the cattle would be saved.

Therefore, the kraykom buro decided that its members would go to the rayons which had suffered from the drought to hold meetings and talks with the population. The on-site visits were also necessary because kulak

agitators had become active in a number of crop failure rayons, and were sowing distrust among the peasants in the notion that the Soviet authorities would give aid to the peasants. This agitation had to be stopped.

I was assigned to visit Stavropol, Salsk and Tersk Okrugs. The time was short—no more than 10 days.

In Rostov there was a small plane which belonged to the German company with which we had an air cargo concession. The pilot and I compiled the flight plan, and for the first time I set off on an "air" business trip which was quite unusual for those times.

At first we thought that we would call the population together for meetings. But things turned out differently. We didn't need to call anyone together. When they saw the approaching airplane, all the residents ran toward its landing site. We could begin the meeting right there.

Right from the airplane, which became an improvised tribune, I spoke of the state of affairs in the kray, of the drought, of the fact that the government has given us aid, of how the seeds and money were being distributed, and I called upon the peasants not to give in to panic but to prepare well and to perform the winter planting in time. I told them not to leave their farms, not to reduce the size of their planted field areas, and to keep their cattle.

Of course, there were many questions. But I could sense that the overall mood of the peasants had improved noticeably. They calmed down, took heart, and became convinced that the Soviet authorities would not abandon them in this difficult moment.

I recall an episode which took place in Kursavka Village of Stavropol Okrug. There were over 10,000 people living in this village. In fact, it was a small city. As a result of the drought, most of the wells in the village had dried up. The people collected rain water in zinc-plated containers, but its reserves were still drying up. It was necessary to urgently take some cardinal measures. After a discussion with the local workers, the decision was made to begin work on building a water line. The fact was that 20-25 kilometers from Kursavka there was an excellent natural wellspring with drinking water. It was decided to lay the water line. Most of the village residents were happy when they found out that this would take no more than a few months. But some had doubts. I remember at the meeting a grey-haired, distinguished looking old man slowly stepped out of the crowd. Having said that he does not believe in this endeavor, he raised his hand, pointed to the palm with the finger of his other hand, and announced, "I'll sooner have hair grow on my palm than a water line will be built in our village".

I answered, "We'll give you the pipes, we'll allocate the funds, it's your business to provide the project with a work force".

The construction of the water lined turned out to be a fully realistic endeavor. In about 6 months the rayon authorities invited us to the opening of the water line. We decided to go. At the same time, I wanted to see that old man whom I remembered. He, of course, came to the ceremonial meeting. That was 9 January 1925. They opened the valve, and a heavy stream of water poured out. Everyone applauded.

The old man was silent, but judging by all appearances, he was very embarrassed. I said to him, "That is Soviet power! The hair on your palm has, of course, not grown in this time, but the water is pouring!"

...In August Bukharin was vacationing in Kislovodsk. He asked me to stop in to visit him. I was even happier to fulfill his request, since my wife Ashkhen and my two sons Stepa and Volodya were also there. The youngest was only a month-and-a-half old. She was staying in the same house as Bukharin. Many of our leading party activists often vacationed there. But, even though I had already worked there for almost 4 years, I rarely vacationed there. More often I dropped in to meet and talk with some vacationing friends. Later, in the 1930's, this house was converted to the "Krasnyye Kamni" sanatorium, whose new building was built of pink Armenian tuff according to the design of the architect Merzhanov and was located over our "governmental" resort home at that time. Despite the important sounding name, everything there was quite simple.

I was glad to see Bukharin himself, since we had good comradely relations and liked each other. He called me "Mikoyashka". At first, however, I did not call him "Bukharchik", as some (including Stalin himself) endearingly called him, since he was older than me. However, soon our relations became so close, thanks to his simplicity, directness and easygoing character, that I, too, began calling him that.

He asked me in detail about the kray, about what was being done there, and about the aid measures. He was very interested in my flights to the drought areas. He wanted to fly himself. I immediately organized such a flight. It is true that before this Bukharin, speaking on a direct line to Moscow, told of our plan. Stalin was categorically opposed to it. Thinking what we should do, Bukharin nevertheless decided to fly, and I supported him. Don't forget that we were young fellows at the time! Aviation flight at that time was a very tempting thing. I was glad to fly with Bukharin, but in doing so we had disobeyed the Politburo decision! After all, Stalin had not simply not approved such a flight. He forwarded the question to the Politburo. It passed a resolution prohibiting Central Committee members from flying in airplanes. Thus, Bukharin and I were prohibited from flying by Politburo resolution. I was very disappointed, since the use of the airplane for work-related needs saved a lot of time, which was always in short supply.

Getting ahead of myself, I must say that while this was the first case of my disobeying a decision of a superior party institution, the second and last one in my life took place at the end of the 1920's. At that time, all the members and candidate members of the VKP(b) Central Committee Politburo worked in party instruction at one plant or another. I was at the "Krasnyy proletariy" Plant. And then the Politburo decided that we must be registered at that narkomat [people's commissariate] or department where we worked. I must admit I didn't do this. The decision of the Politburo was correct from the standpoint of the Charter, but it tore the thread which tied us with the everyday life of the work collective. Being at the reporting and other party meetings at the "Krasnyy proletariy" Plant, I got that which I could not get at the narkomat. After all, at the narkomat I was already apprised of life in the collective. I am not making excuses, but am merely explaining my disobedience of the adopted decision.

The visits of the kraykom buro members to the rayons proved to be very beneficial. They allowed us to find out about various consequences of the drought, including also about our own omissions and shortcomings. One of the results of the crop failure was the rise in the number of homeless children. In some villages women would come up to me with tears in their eyes and ask, "Take our children. We can't feed them".

The funds allocated by the government to combat the problem of homeless children were not sufficient. It was necessary to seek out funds in local budgets which were already strained.

During the trip the kraykom buro members saw many shortcomings in our work in the village. They were once again convinced that we must more decisively turn the attention of the entire kray party organization toward rural questions.

The crop failure and the deprivations and sacrifices associated with it convinced the peasants of the advantages of uniting into cooperative artels and labor collectives, whose creation helped them not only to overcome the consequences of the elemental hardships, but also protected them against kulak servitude. The village cooperatives were ever more clearly becoming the support bases of the party and Soviet authorities in the struggle against the backwardness of the peasant economy.

All these questions were presented in a letter in which the party kraykom and krayispolkom addressed the party organizations, local Soviets, cooperatives, and all the workers and peasants, Cossacks and mountain men of the Southeastern kray. The letter noted that the next year should become a year of all-people's struggle against crop failure and drought.

The kraykom began to intensively propagandize the leading experience of land cultivation and crop growing. In the large villages there were excellent reading room huts of 4-5 rooms which received books, journals and newspapers. However, the peasants rarely attended them, while the party organization did not ascribe enough importance to this. Thousands of peasant carts collected at the markets in Tersk Okrug. Yet no one thought of conducting cultural work among these peasants. Yet it would have been no trouble at all to organize a small kiosk at such a market to sell newspapers and to hold discussions with the peasants. After all, the peasants were hungering for enlightenment. Their political activity increased notably. It was enough, for example, to announce a meeting in a village or stanitsa and in about a half hour the entire village would gather, listening to the orators with great attention and actively speaking out themselves.

...When we remember those first steps which we took on socialist reconstruction of the village and compare them with the tasks of the present day, we understand how little we were able to do at that time. And yet we could, I believe, rejoice in any victory, even a small one.

#### Footnotes

1. In 1941 as a young man of 17 he volunteered for flight school, and in September of 1942 he was killed in aerial combat near Stalingrad.

2. The position of General Secretary of the Party Central Committee was established after the 11th Party Congress by resolution of the Central Committee Plenum dated April 1922. At that time, the Plenum elected Stalin to this position. I must say that in those years this position did not yet have the significance which it subsequently attained. In general, the Secretariat did not play a specific role, being considered an executive organ for the current work of the Politburo.

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**Kharchev Interviewed on Church-State Relations,  
Other Issues**

18000139 Moscow *NAUKA I RELIGIYA* in Russian  
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[Interview of K. M. Kharchev, chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs at the USSR Council of Ministers, by Igor Achildiyev, department chief of *NAUKA I RELIGIYA*: "Guarantees of Freedom"; time and place not specified; first two paragraphs are *NAUKA I RELIGIYA* introduction]

[Excerpts] All of us see: Restructuring now encompasses the economy, the social and spiritual sphere of society, and provides a powerful stimulus to the development of the historic creativity of the masses. How is it reflected in the relations of state and church, atheists and citizens who are believers?

This and other questions of the department chief of the journal, Igor Achildiyev, are answered by the chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs at the USSR Council of Ministers, Konstantin Mikhaylovich Kharchev.

[Answer] The absolute majority of believers resolutely and actively support the party's policy aimed at the radical renewal of our society. They see in restructuring the concern of the party and the state for the improvement of the life of the people, for the preservation of peace, for the confirmation of the principles of social justice, and for a clean moral atmosphere of society. Such an attitude creates favorable conditions for the development of the activeness of believers in productive and public life.

All of these actions are perceived by many believers<sup>1</sup> and religious figures as the development of the Leninist principles in the interrelations of state and church, atheists and believers.

During the first months and years after October, there developed in the country, as is well-known, an extremely contradictory and in its own way unique situation. The absolute majority of ordinary believers appeared in the ranks of the army of the revolution—among those who established and defended Soviet power.

At the same time, in the camp of the counterrevolution there proved to be the greater part of the clergy and the leadership of the church, which enjoyed a certain authority among the believers and was based on the strength of centuries-old traditions. All of this not only called forth the departure of the masses from religion, but also gave rise to difficult and dramatic and vital collisions and created the psychological soil for various sorts of excesses.

A decisive role in the normalization of the relations between state and church was played by the considered and well-weighed policy of the Soviet regime. Having destroyed the reactionary legislation, the new state

granted the church a real possibility to focus its efforts on the satisfaction of the religious needs of believers. At the same time, where the believers themselves within the framework of religious associations joined in the solution of social problems, those initiatives received approval and support.

Taking into account religious convictions, Soviet legislation allowed the possibility of freeing believers from the performance of civic duties connected with the performance of military service, replacing them, as they said then, with service on the medical front.

In a word, the Leninist norms that determine the inter-relationship between state and church and their practical implementation in principle excluded any war with believers and priests because of their religious convictions. It is another matter when we are talking about actions directed against the power of the people. Then all necessary measures were taken for the defense of national interests, including measures of an extraordinary character. The trouble, however, is that, when the necessity of restrictions and prohibitions called forth by extraordinary circumstances passed, many of them continued to operate.

[Question] Today the restructuring organically includes the intensification of democracy and the expansion of glasnost, and a decisive restoration of Leninist principles is under way where they were violated. What that is new in this connection is appearing in the activity of the Council?

[Answer] Above all, we are striving, as the party demands, to make a sober and realistic assessment of the present-day religious situation. During the years of socialist construction radical changes in public consciousness took place. And now already it is not the believers, but people who in one form or another share a materialist world view who constitute the absolute majority of the population. True, the mass departure from religion, as this was during the first years of the Soviet regime, is not noted now. But in a number of regions there is also an increase in believers.

If we talk about the church and religious associations, to all intents and purposes they all strive to integrate the socialist ideal in their theological doctrines, they show willingness of active and multifaceted cooperation—both in foreign and in domestic policy—with public and state organizations, and they express the desire to take part, within their powers, in the positive changes that are taking part in Soviet society.

Yes, the church condemns such negative phenomena as drug addiction and crime, alcoholism and drunkenness, comes out in support of the preservation of monuments of national culture, the strengthening of the family, and the maintenance of the purity of the environment. And the matter is not limited only to sermons. The church

donated more than 3 million rubles to help those suffering from the accident in Chernobyl, and the donations are continuing. Annually the Peace Fund receives more than 30 million rubles from it, the Fund for the Preservation of Cultural Monuments—about 5 million rubles, and for the reconstruction and restoration of religious buildings, of which 1,786 are also historical-cultural monuments—approximately 45 million rubles.

Some people try to explain all this as “time-serving” and “aiding and abetting” of the authorities. During the years that have passed after October a new type of believer, dedicated to the ideals of socialism and to his Soviet Homeland, has appeared, a man whose interests go far beyond the limits of exclusively religious aspirations. Now he, as I already said, is coming out actively for socialism and for its radical renewal. So that the spiritual shepherds, in supporting the restructuring and our peaceful initiatives, are not “accommodating themselves”, but are carrying out their moral duty, expressing in their own way the vital interests of the believers.

At the same time I would like to note: A certain part of the clergy and the flock following it try to use the policy of expanding glasnost and democracy to obtain prerogatives of a special character, and frequently also for attacks on basic provisions of legislation on cults and for violations of the USSR Constitution. They understand freedom of conscience to mean religious activity not limited by anything. Although in most cases, such actions do not have an anti-Soviet and anti-socialist character, objectively—which is clear to every sensible person—they lead to the collision of the interests of believing and non-believing citizens.

However, only an insignificant part of the clergy occupies reactionary and extremist positions. There are such priests also in Orthodoxy (in particular among the former Uniate priests), as well as in Catholicism and in Islam, but for the most part these are the representatives of the so-called Council of Churches of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists, and extremist elements from among the Pentecostals, the Adventists-Reformers, and Jehovah's Witnesses.

Moreover, the extremists in religion, as a rule, complain about their unequal position in terms of rights compared with other confessions and citizens. Upon verification, however, it turns out exactly the opposite. Enjoying all constitutional rights, they desire for themselves special privileges and the release from the observance of a number of the most important civic duties.

There are also simply fanatics who, shutting themselves up in a religious environment and striving to escape from participation in the solution of burning social problems, do harm both to themselves and to their families.

[Question] Konstantin Mikhaylovich, you have said a great deal about the religious situation, but, I beg your pardon, somehow very generally. Our reader now has a skeptical attitude toward formulas of the type less is more. He wants to judge everything on the basis of precise data. M. S. Gorbachev, in emphasizing the special role of glasnost, said that “the truth cannot be less or more. Truth is one, and it must be complete.”

[Answer] All right, let us talk in the language of facts and figures. The Council conducted a thorough analysis of the data we have available for the past 25 years.<sup>2</sup> The following picture takes shape. The number of religious associations has decreased by almost 34 percent. More than 15,000 of them still remain in the country. There has been some decrease in the number of baptisms for the country as a whole. However, in the Moldavian, Tajik, and Estonian union republics and in some oblasts of the RSFSR and the Ukraine there has been an increase in religious rites. We are talking, above all, about the religious rites of burials. In the republics of Central Asia, in Azerbaijan, and in the Northern Caucasus, almost all the dead from among the indigenous nationalities are buried in accordance with religious ritual.

As you see, the church has extensive possibilities for the satisfaction of the religious needs of the believers, it possesses a solid material base, and it has more than 25,000 priests in its ranks. The monetary receipts of religious associations of all confessions doubled in 20 years and reached 260 million rubles. More than 700 worship buildings have been acquired, built, and reconstructed by the church. Spiritual educational institutions of the country make it possible to recruit church cadres. In the 1960's and even in the 1970's, the basic category of the clergy were people 60 years of age and older, now—from 40 to 60.<sup>3</sup> There has been an increase in their professional level, more than 80 percent of the episcopate now have a higher theological education.

Thus, in our society there now exists a relatively large group of people which is oriented toward religious values and an impressive system of religious organizations who satisfy the specific needs of this group. Such is the reality.

[Question] The approaching 1000th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity in Russia is also a reality. The readers of the journal have quite a few questions here. Some consider it an occasion for celebration for our entire country. Some people repeat the fabrication that this jubilee in our country is being prohibited and hushed up. What, Konstantin Mikhaylovich, would be your answer to our readers?

[Answer] I would not begin to count this date among the national holidays. This is a holiday of a number of Christian confessions that exist in our country, of the Russian Orthodox Church. It would be a mistake to deny the positive role of Orthodoxy in the expansion of the political and cultural relations of Russia with the West,

in the development of the written language, architecture and painting. The church played its role in the formation of the centralized state, and the merits of some of its representatives in patriotic matters are indisputable.

At the same time I would remind you: The Orthodox Church conducted a battle against free-thinking in Russia, destroyed ancient monuments of its pre-Christian culture, and took part in the oppression of millions of adherents of a different faith and non-Russians living in the Russian Empire. Let us also not forget the fact that the Orthodox Church not only loyally served the ruling classes and tsarism and helped them to hold in servitude the working masses, but also itself in the course of time became the largest landowner and exploiter of the Russian people.

It goes without saying that no one prohibits the Orthodox Church to celebrate its anniversary. All talk about this is pure slander. I will say that, on the part of the Council for Religious Affairs, quite a bit of assistance is being extended to the Orthodox Church in the conduct and organization of its holiday—in the publication of art albums and guides, religious texts, in the organization of the anniversary festivities themselves, etc. I recall the fact that the Danilov Monastery in Moscow was turned over to the church by the Soviet government on the threshold of the anniversary of Orthodoxy. All of this is being done in complete accordance with our legislation on cults.

[Question] Above you talked about the violation of the legislation on cults by the clergy and believers. But do we not sin against truth if we are silent about cases of disregard of the Leninist principles of the attitude to believers on the part of persons endowed with official authority?

[Answer] There are, of course, also such deviations. However regrettable it is to talk about this, but the desire to force the process of the departure of the masses from religion gave rise to ugly phenomena in a number of places: The unlawful limitations and restrictions of the rights of believers. This is manifested, let us say, in production, where believers receiving material rewards for shock work in full were at times not encouraged with moral support. Difficult situations exist which are connected, let us say, with a stay in places of deprivation of freedom. Here the authorities frequently propose that

criminal punishment gives them the right to deprive imprisoned believers of the possibility to use the Bible or Koran and to seek seclusion for prayer. This, it goes without saying, is illegal. A part of the soviet and public workers have developed the aspiration to embellish the religious situation by hampering the registration of associations of believers. Administrative zeal, by creating the illusion of well-being in its rayon or oblast, has not only concealed the true state of affairs, but thereby inflicted harm to civic, moral, if you will, philosophical education. Determined pressure has engendered conflicts about which our press has more than once reported, especially in the past few years.

It must be said that at times the actions of the locals organs of power reach the point of absurdities: Obstacles are placed in inviting a priest to a person who is dying, the ringing of bells is prohibited, there have been cases where the repair and electrification of prayer-houses have been refused.

What administrative-force pressure or "bury-your-head-in-the-sand" policy in questions of the registration of religious associations leads to, is indicated by the fact of the relatively wide spread of so-called self-styled mullahs in the regions of the traditional dissemination of Islam. They perform a significant part of the religious rites, manage the cemeteries, organize utter extortions from believers, and some people try to turn the religious sermon into a sermon of nationalism.

The party and the state have more than once resolutely condemned that sort of "war against religion" as a violation of socialist legality, civil rights and freedoms, and Leninist principles of the relationship to religion and believers. It goes without saying, our Council, finding out about every such violation, strives to correct the matter. [4 The work of the Council also needs restructuring, the clearing of the outgrowths of bureaucratism, greater flexibility and efficiency, and initiative, including in the sphere of the improvement of law enforcement practice. Evidently, the legislation on cults itself is also in need of improvement.

#### Footnotes

1. Today believers in the country constitute about 10-20 percent of the population (depending on the region).
- 2.

Table 1. Number of Religious Associations

Confession	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
Russian Orthodox Church	11,742	7,523	7,274	7,038	7,007	6,794
Catholic Church	1,179	1,116	1,087	1,070	1,102	1,099
Islam	2,307	1,820	1,087	1,069	954	751
Judaism	259	238	220	181	130	109

Table 1. Number of Religious Associations

Confession	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
Evangelical Christians-Baptists	2,917	3,054	2,964	2,981	3,078	2,976
Pentecostals	1,006	904	965	775	863	843
Seventh-Day Adventists	399	372	350	381	434	445
Jehovah's Witnesses	607	468	480	411	411	378
Total for the USSR (Including Other Denominations)	22,698	17,507	16,323	15,687	15,713	15,036

Table 2. Religious Rituals (According to Data of Religious Organizations)

Type of Ritual	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
Baptisms	1,017,228	965,188	808,478	830,596	774,747
Including:					
Baptisms of School Age Children	10,261	29,335	25,682	40,253	40,469
Baptisms of Adults	—	21,680	26,818	45,178	51,864
Confirmation	—	23,049	24,383	27,333	25,145
Wedding Ceremonies	60,516	79,356	74,988	106,259	79,840
Burial Services	848,805	990,618	1,096,190	1,125,058	1,179,051

3. The old age of the priests in the 1960's and earlier was explained, to a significant degree, by the fact that long interruptions were permitted in the training of new priests, as well as by other reasons, which are directly connected with the period of the cult of the personality that has been condemned by our party. During the last 15 years, the number of students of spiritual educational institutions doubled and constitutes more than 2,500, including about 800 external students.

4. The processes of democratization and glasnost that have been engendered by restructuring have already begun to have an effect on the religious situation and find reflection in its statistics. Thus, after the April

(1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 173 religious associations of various confessions were registered (at the same time, 107 religious associations were removed from registration and disintegrated). A total of 138 buildings for prayer purposes were acquired, have been built and reconstructed (including of the Russian Orthodox Church—35, the Evangelical Christians-Baptists—49, the Seventh-Day Adventists—12, the Pentecostals—9, and the Muslims—11).

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8970

## Writer Antonov Claims Errors of Collectivization Must Be Admitted

18000199a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 19 Jan 88 p 3

[Interview by Ye. Grandova with writer Sergey Petrovich Antonov: "Teach the Truth"]

[Text]I was heading for a meeting with writer Sergey Petrovich Antonov on the metro. During the ride, I was recalling the heroes of his novel "Vaska"—the first metro builders. I lost myself in a feeling of wanting to be buried in the past, trying to see the "underground palaces and tunnels" through their eyes. But another thought would not leave me alone, bringing me back to the present. I looked at the people sitting in front of me and thought: How different they are! And no, I wasn't comparing them to the first metro builders, created by the writer's imagination. But rather with those who were right here, riding side by side with me in a packed metro car, some five years ago. What has changed? Where had that uniformly drowsy stream of people gone to? Here were two men arguing heatedly with each other about something, but their passion was not out of the realm of "you-listen-to-me"—they were clearly arguing about work. Here is a group of young people passing a newspaper room hand to hand, noisily discussing the material. An atmosphere of lively animation held sway in the car. And just an elderly man with a massive briefcase on his knees looked at the "citizen passengers" in an alienated fashion from a corner of the car...

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[Sergey Petrovich] Yes, the climate of our life has changed greatly in the last two or three years. The air has cleared. People are bolder, more active, more talkative. Not everyone, of course, but the majority.

[Question] The party has undertaken a great deal since April of 1985 into order to take decisive steps, first and foremost in favor of repairing omissions, and then in favor of further creativity. The activity of genuinely prominent people whose initiative was in the old days, as they say, cut off at the root is much more noticeable today. In the opinion of others, however, our restructuring is still proceeding too slowly. Do you agree with that?

[Answer] In order to comprehend the grandeur and complexity of what has transpired, one must not forget that the fundamental modernization of all aspects of socialism is taking place under difficult circumstances, without a breather, without stopping, figuratively changing the tires on a car without stopping. The first results are evident nevertheless. The problem of the **quality** of products is coming steadily to the fore, and the problem of the **quality** of human relations is indivisible from it.

A literary figure is especially pleased, however, by the spiritual cast of the people, which is not subject to percentage measurements. The stagnant atmosphere of

so many years is disappearing from their eyes... The so-called period of stagnation is accepted to be reckoned from the 1970s. I would expand these coordinates. After all, stagnation did not appear by surprise all in one day in an empty setting. We must probably seek the preconditions for it in the atmosphere of fear that was born as early as in the 1930s through repression and the violations of elementary rules of human society. This fear was the direct legacy of the cult of Stalin. Fear deadened the feeling of personal worth and prevented independent thought, decision or action. The fear syndrome encouraged yes-men, toadying, duplicity, dishonesty and false delight.

Khrushchev tried to drive a stake into the very concept of the personality cult in his speech at the 20th Party Congress. (It is high time this speech, famous around the world, be "declassified" in our country as well.) The people who had been warmed by the rays of the cult, however, strove to revive the past with all their strength and they were successful. The personality cult was revived in the 1970s, but in the form of parody, farce and golden swords.

People have different natures. Breaking the habit of fear has proven to be a long process. Even today some of those making inflammatory speeches about acceleration are looking fearfully around—what if tomorrow brings a step backward? There is nothing surprising about this. Some have been completely taken with the idea of restructuring, which they desired and awaited. Others dozed peacefully in their imported easy chairs and overfulfilled the production plan for lace-up boots that no one wanted to wear or printed books that no one wanted to read. The former naturally plunged happily into the tempestuous and creative elements, while the latter, remaining on the shoals, began to feel themselves with alarm to be kings without clothes.

These "latter" comprise the backbone of a cohesive bureaucratic mafia. This bureaucracy is largely guilty of the flourishing of the personality cult, because the "deification of authority is **its way of thinking**" (Marx). This bureaucracy is shying away from glasnost like the devil from incense, because "the universal spirit of a bureaucracy is **mystery and secrecy**" (Marx).

The cunning bureaucratic mechanism is the terrible legacy devised by a bourgeois society.

This imaginary "activity" of the bureaucracy, in my opinion, should be terminated with the same severity that is used to halt crime.

Bureaucratism is one of the chief drags on restructuring today. Bureaucratism has flourished everywhere—in the ministries of the capital and on small kolkhozes. In the 1950s you would see three or at most four business-management workers in the kolkhoz office. Today the administrative apparatus of the kolkhoz comprises an average of thirty workers. And far from all of them are

Akakiy Akakiyeviches whose natural calling is to eke out a living with the pen. There are also potential mechanics, inventors and agronomists among them.

In short, the fresh wind of change is being opposed today by bureaucrats and people who have fallen under the sway of "pulling strings" rather than merit. I am sure that this situation will change soon. The rays of restructuring are also shining equally on those who are engaged in the cause and those who produce directive pulp.

Technical progress has given rise to a science called psychological diagnostics. It defines, by the way, the natural inclinations of the individual.

In a number of countries, industrial and trade organizations, teaching institutions and offices make use of the services of this science. And here?

[Question] As far as I understand you, you impart a great deal of significance to the natural and, well, primordial distinctions of people—"people have different natures."

[Answer] Society is people. And people are a part of nature, the highest, crowning product of the universe. The laws of nature and the laws of social development are indivisible. And we must reckon with this. By way of example, if we were to affirm principles of human intercourse without a sensible regard for the capabilities of nuclear power, there will be a universal catastrophe.

Not so long ago the children of the Earth put into circulation the slogan "We cannot await kindnesses from nature, our task is to take them from it." And what were the results? Slighting nature like an unloved stepmother, the world has reached the edge of ecological catastrophe. The land gives birth to us and feeds us, and we put a hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica that protects everything alive from deadly radiation. By "the land" I mean not only the fields and pastures, but the skies as well, the atmosphere.

[Question] Attendant circumstances, randomness and someone's will quite often have an effect on the fate of man and the determination of his place in life...

[Answer] We must begin from the fact that people have different natures. Every child has its own special and natural talent slumbering within. My seven-year-old granddaughter, answering the question "What do you want to be?" answered "A Party worker or a circus horsewoman." And this is understandable. Her father is a rayon committee instructor, and the mother is an performer. Following the work path of the parents is an ancient and honored tradition. Honored if the adolescent understands the sense of the given profession and has a natural inclination for it. After all, some follow in their fathers' footsteps simply out of a laziness of thought, an anemia of the soul, without paying any

attention to their own inclinations and abilities. (At the insistence of my father I began studying at a trucking institute, although I was clearly drawn to literature.)

Some poor souls finishing school, looking to the future from the level of my seven-year-old granddaughter, have no idea that the choice of a profession is the greatest act of their lives, no less important, for example, than marriage. And even more fateful. An unfortunate spouse can be replaced, but a diploma from an institute where you went only because they accept people with C's stays forever.

The choice of profession is the most serious test of maturity for a young person. "This choice," Marx felt, "is an act that can destroy the whole life of a person, disrupt all of his plans and make him unhappy." (Karl Marx, by the way, wrote this when he was seventeen years old.)

Divining and developing the abilities that are concealed in the immature souls of the adolescent is the task of the family and the school, no less important than teaching grammar and arithmetic. It is a difficult task, and it is being accomplished poorly today. Testimony to this is the unthinking gravitation toward the so-called "prestige," striking professions (theatrical institute, institute of international relations et al), excusable in a seven-year-old child, but not in a graduate of secondary school; or, even worse, taking a job according to the principle of "better to work somewhere than not at all." The results of an insufficiently responsible selection among candidates applying for a given job are apparent to everyone: salespeople rude to customers; doctors treating patients with aversion; doctors of academics exploiting the work of their lab subordinates; the aimless literary figure for whom the success of colleagues causes a nervous breakdown.

The failed workers, in a work environment alien to them through random choice, quite often shirk difficulties in office politics and become separated from life, turning into full-blown bureaucrats.

[Question] Sergey Petrovich, let's touch on questions concerning the fields and the villages, the more so as in your writings you have touched on just these problems more than once. Your novels "The Matter in Penkovo," "The Torn Ruble" and "Ravines," which the journal DRUZHBA NARODOV began printing, are devoted to them.

The complex process of collectivization with its twists and turns, as you say, says hello today as well. Today we are trying to rectify the errors committed during that period. Correct them for the good of both the person and for the good of the land as a vital part of nature. What do you think of this?

[Answer] I think the land must be returned to its true master. The phrase "masters of the land" sounds eloquent but abstract. In speaking of the master of the land, I have in mind the intelligent worker of the land who, feeling a clump of the black earth in his hand, says the time has come to sow or we must wait awhile. There are almost no more skilled masters who have inherited agricultural science from their fathers and grandfathers, and the Palaces of Culture, cottages and even the Timiryazevskaya Academy won't resurrect them for you. They can only be resurrected by the family contract. The rural family contract is a great force. It was not contrived, but rather arose naturally, since it corresponds to the specific nature of the abnormal troubles that are inevitable in kolkhoz-style production. Here the village family is returning to its primordial essence: it is becoming not simply an assemblage of young and old, but a cohesive labor cell. This is the best method of labor education. Kids who help out from the youngest ages in planting, milking cows and mowing hay grow up quickly and become full members of the labor collective.

Something similar to the family contract existed long ago. The difference is that the kolkhoz family contract maintains 20-50 cows, while the old ones, individual, nursed a single cow.

In the years of the vitally necessary but hastily executed collectivization, the elimination of private livestock and subsidiary plots violated the working institution of the peasant family. Today it must be restored, not without difficulties, on new—kolkhoz and sovkhoz—foundations.

[Question] You said "restored, not without difficulties," thereby not simply asserting but recognizing the errors committed (in this instance) in the process of collectivization. But letters are coming to the editors whose authors express the opinion that it is unpatriotic to criticize the past without end, throwing a shadow over historical figures with whom major achievements of our country, which defeated fascism and built a society of mature socialism, are associated.

[Answer] The achievements of our Motherland over seven decades are so majestic that even foes call it a "superpower." Nonetheless, in analyzing the path we have traversed, we must not omit from attention the errors that accompanied the emergence of socialist society.

The historic achievements of the state, as a rule, are unique, cannot be repeated and are crowned with legends and monuments. But shortcomings, like a disease, have an inclination to be forgotten and repeated. We have noted this in our discussion on the vitality of the personality cult. Let us look more steadfastly at this problem.

Some comrades are still repeating doggedly that the "peoples of the USSR are indebted to the great leader and commander Generalissimo I.V. Stalin" for victory in the Great Patriotic War. Stalin was not an ordinary individual. But do you really think that were it not for Stalin, the Hitlerites would have triumphed? Of course not. We would have won without Stalin as well, and perhaps with less bloodshed. The people that gave the country talented military commanders and reliable soldiers are the ones who triumphed.

Writers of military memoirs reluctantly recall the fateful June night in 1941 when alarming reports were arriving in Moscow on the rumble of German tanks on the western border. It was namely that night that a directive was sent to the military districts to bring the units to combat readiness with the postscript "no other measures may be taken without special authorization."

The author of this single postscript that paralyzed our troops should, to put it mildly, have been made an example of. A high price was paid for it. But no punishment followed, as the author of the postscript was not Marshal Timoshenko or Marshal Zhukov, but Stalin himself.

Much is said among us about educating the youth: about difficult adolescents, dissipatedness, cynicism and other flaws of part of the younger generation. Various approaches, means and methods of moral education are invented. But do you know the most powerful and effective method of educating an adolescent? Tell him the truth. Nothing deforms the soul of an adolescent like the lies and dissembling of parents. Of course, he will come to the truth himself at the price of trial and error. But what opinion will he form of his parents?

All should speak the truth fearlessly—educators, teachers and, most importantly, mothers and fathers. (It will also be easier for them, by the way, to live in the world.)

Today it is safe to agitate for the truth—especially in an interview. There is a multitude of barriers on the path to the truth in real-life situations. Not the least of which is half-truths.

Those that sometimes utter a half-truth, so to speak, automatically, a white lie, are not bad. You hear, for example, that a tomato has "certain shortcomings," and all is clear.

Much more dangerous is the fact that some champions of the method of socialist realism are surprisingly adept at manipulating the mighty and upright Russian language in such a way that the half-truth of their writings looks like the absolute and authentic truth.

I will not cite quotes from the stagnant period on the order of "In 1937 the creative path of Mandelshtam was suddenly halted." Recall familiar examples of everyday

life. An announcement on a column: "in an improved-layout building." What does that mean? Improved compared to what? If compared to the so-called "Khrushchevs"—it is a small joy. And what are these "heightened-demand goods"? The literal sense is goods that the greedy consumer is falling upon to excess. But that is a half-truth. The complete truth is that this phrase is code for a prolonged lack of a good needed by the people.

The half-truth is the monstrous offspring of the absence of glasnost. And it is apparent today how its false and protective coloring is fading.

[Question] Sergey Petrovich, art and literature have proven to have a large influence on the purity and health of society at all times, especially at turning points. Words and forms excite the soul and help it to overcome the foe with healthy forces. What do you think of the influence of Soviet art, and especially literature, on the acceleration of restructuring?

[Answer] I think that true art does not just fix visible reality. It constantly, sometimes without knowing it, engages in a forecast of the social future. In this sense, talented representatives of the arts—not only the creators of aesthetic values, but in any sense—are prophets. The short Tvardovskiy poem "Terkin in that World" signaled dangerous and stagnant phenomena in the bowels of our society as early as 1963. Yevtushenko foretold the vitality of today's dangerous breed a quarter century ago in the "Heirs of Stalin." It is not for nothing that our journals are racing to print works rejected twenty or more years ago. Ovechkin and Abramov, Yevtushenko, Tendryakov, Vampilov, Mozhayev and many other literary figures with a "difficult" fate have awakened the national consciousness and brought society to the idea of the need to change the state of affairs.

Such writers were working on restructuring and creating the spiritual atmosphere of today's creative life many years ago.

Some feel that the sharp ascent of today's literary art is analogous to the revival that took place in the 1950s.

In reality, the beneficial winds of the 20th Party Congress awakened a multitude of first-rate and diverse talents.

There is a large qualitative difference, however, between the cultural atmosphere of the fifties and our time. I would say outright that candidness and boldness of creative thought were far from always encouraged in Khrushchev's time. (Yevtushenko and Voznesenskiy could have much to relate on this score.) The persecution of so-called "slander" was intensified; shouts adorned with this sinister phrase were read and heard from the

rostrum by Abramov, Troyepolskiy and Dudintsev. Shatrov had to enter the fight for incursions into the realm of unlawful names in those days. All of these literary figures became writers in the 1950s.

The literary bureaucracy nurtured the absurd police state in the arts (alas, such a segment even appeared among us) and was seized with obliging criticism. It is a fact, after all, that up until quite recently the post of the writer in the official lists of the Writers' Union, and not the artistic qualities of the piece, had an effect on the evaluation of the work. Especially ardent members of our union thus literally wring out titles and ranks for themselves. It is unfortunately a real instance, and not an invention, that is at the foundation of S. Zalygin's story "Boris Borisovich—Suicide" (NOVYY MIR No 12 for 1987).

I will relate to you an unhappy event from my own life to show the extent to which an ephemeral eminence can hypnotize criticism. In the 1950s the newspaper KRASNOYE ZNAMYA (Sochi) printed a review by some S. Nikolskiy that began with the words "The new anthology of short stories by Stalin prize laureate Sergey Antonov is a comparatively small but, if it can be expressed thus, surprisingly capacious book... genuinely talented and impressive..." etc.

Fearing accusations of boasting, I will say outright that the book being reviewed was poor, written (quoting a different review) "by an unsure and largely inexperienced hand."

The point is that in those years, another story writer besides me—Sergey Petrovich Antonov—was also being printed who was named Sergey Fedorovich Antonov. His first anthology, "Days of Discovery," was adorned by the critic with a full portion of the compliments and praise reserved for a Stalin Prize laureate.

Obviously you are expecting the customary conclusion that criticism is guilty of the lag of literature from life. And you are wrong. I feel that the quality of criticism at all times reflects the quality and the specific features of the given period, including the literature.

Literature is taking off today and so is criticism. Read over, for example, Yu. Karyakin's article (ZNAMYA No 9 for 1987) and you will understand what restructuring is, what glasnost is and what an appeal for respect for the creative individual is. This article is the offspring of restructuring.

And those who are dissatisfied by the lack of a thick and epic narration of restructuring will have to wait. It is difficult to write the life story of a person who is only two years old.

[Question] Sergey Petrovich, your novel "Vaska," after all, was also in the desk drawer for fifteen years. It is difficult, perhaps, for the artist to exist under such a, so to speak, regimen? And you were working and writing nonetheless. What gave you strength?

[Answer] Confidence in the power of truth. Faith in the fact that truth would win out sooner or later without fail.

When I submitted the novel "Vaska" to the publisher fifteen years ago, a vigilant reviewing scholar wrote that this work was sent not to Soviet journals, but rather to the anti-Soviet "Continent." I was not the only one to suffer such "reprimands." There's nothing you can do. Someone came up with the mournful saying "A good deed does not go unpunished." Good takes the upper hand in the end, however.

12821

### **Soldier Advocates Wider Employment of Belorussian Language**

18000229 [Editorial Report] Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIA in Russian on 19 Jan 1988 carries on page 3 a 200-word letter from E. Saleychuk, a soldier who is serving his tour of duty in Czechoslovakia. Saleychuk declares his love for his native Belorussian language but says that he does not know it very well because of "a lack of practice." "Lately Belorussians use Belorussian very little preferring to express themselves in Russian."

E. Saleychuk goes on to state that "if you attempt to address a store clerk in Belorussian, she'll stare at you like you're crazy." "On the contrary, if you speak the local vernacular in any of the Baltic Republics, this is accepted as the normal matter of course."

Saleychuk would like to see a broader usage of the Belorussian language in general ("there should'nt be any embarrassment attached to Belorussian labelling on consumer goods and food stuffs packaging.") He suggests it would be useful for parents to begin conversing in Belorussian with their children from an early age.

### **Yerevan Historical Buildings Threatened, Citizens Protest**

18000196a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 19 Jan 88 p 6

[Article by I. Verdiyanyan: "Stop the Bulldozer"]

[Text] On this cold weekend day, an alarming telephone call was received at the Yerevan office of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA:

Monuments of architecture and culture in the downtown section of Yerevan are under the threat of destruction. Bulldozers are working at full speed. We organized pickets in front of the buildings and are asking the newspaper to get immediately involved. . .

And now I am at Spandaryan Street which is several blocks away from my office. A large group of people representing the general public, which includes architects, chemists, writers, engineers, and journalists, is arguing heatedly with the Authority for construction of aircraft repair plants builders for the need to preserve monuments for the present and the future, and to be responsible for the city's future. As to the builders, they are referring to the orders from their management.

So, what is it all about?

Four one and two-story buildings from the last century with Nos. 34, 36, 38, and 42 stand on Spandaryan Street. In two of them at the beginning of this century lived famous sons of the Armenian people, bolsheviks—Leninists, Stepan Shaumyan and Askanaz Mravyan. The design of the Russian theater of drama imeni Stanislavskiy (by the way, its foundation pit had already been dug out in violation of construction rules and norms without having working drawings and approval by the central authorities) stipulates the "development" of the house No. 42, which belonged to Princes Nalbandyan. The house has a small unique yard: a fountain, which survived by some miracle, and gutters clad with stone plates with ornaments. Inside the house there is a well-preserved stage, where in accordance with an old Yerevan tradition, used to play play the sazandari, that is, folk musicians.

On one Sunday (obviously, in order to bring the matter to the public as an already existing fact) a bulldozer started to destroy this last century yard, which together with the house is on the list of protected monuments. Here, those to whom the historical relics of Yerevan are dear, rose up.

The chief architect of the ethnographic block "dzorag-yukh" project Ashar Kazaryan said: "City authorities intend to move the homes connected with the names of Shaumyan, Mravyan, and other famous statesmen to another street after they are measured and the stores are assigned numbers. The absurdity of this idea is obvious. To do it means to deprive the monuments of their architectural environment, unity, and uniqueness. Only on the old streets and blocks do the famous houses live their natural life.

These buildings will be immediately lost if they have this huge future theater building in the background. The only way out of this situation is to tie together the project and its surroundings in order for the restored monuments in the future to serve people for a long time to come."

The issue of "robbing the history" on the streets of Yerevan had already been raised in our newspaper in the critical article "Do Not Rob the History" (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 30 Oct 86). An open letter to the Armenian CP Central Committee raising the same issue was signed by about 1000 people, among them prominent writers, artists, and scientists. However, as we see it, the voice of the people is lost behind the noise produced by bulldozers. For how long?

It is finally the time for the Council of Ministers of the republic to say its own forceful word.

13355

### **Moldavian Culture Ministry Faulted for Monument Neglect**

18000196b Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russia 31 Dec 87p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Standing Committees of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Commission on youth affairs and the commission on the people's education, science, and culture of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet at a joint meeting discussed the issue of serious violations in the republic of laws concerning the protection and use of cultural and historical monuments. As it was reported by the chairman of the deputy preparatory commission, V.D. Danilenko and deputies F.A. Angeli, S.G. Beznoshchenko, V.N. Voronin, K.I. Galbur, and S.G. Lozovan, some work for the preservation of the large historical and cultural property of the Soviet people, the efficient use of historical and cultural monuments, and their increased educational effect on the upcoming generation, is being carried out.

At the same time, the deputies noted that the implementation of the resolutions by the MoSSR Council of Ministers as well as other regulations concerning this subject has not been assured in the republic. A number of ministries, State committees, departments, and ispolkoms of local Soviets demonstrate indifference to the preservation of the historical and cultural heritage of the people, and do not take into account the increased interest of the people toward this heritage during the period of perestroika and renovation. In the recent past, behind the impressive reports and showing off, an unpleasant picture of the aging and destruction of many historical and cultural sites, of a barbaric consumer attitude, ignorance, and disrespect toward them, was actually hidden.

Ministries of health care, education, social welfare, housing, and communal services, Gosagroprom, other ministries and departments, and the ispolkoms of the Soviets of people's deputies, which are using buildings that are historical and architectural monuments, do not fulfill the legal requirements with regard to their preservation,

timely repairs, and restoration. The authorities mentioned and the local representatives of the MoSSR Ministry of Culture in some places do not have proper contracts, as a result of which the users do not have any responsibility for violation of these requirements. As a result of this attitude, the largest monuments of history and architecture (former monasteries Kurki, Kapriyany, Gyrbovets, Kalarashovka, Kotyuzhany, Rud, and Sakharna) have been taken under State protection, and are in bad shape. Monuments of the wooden cult architecture are insufficiently studied and protected. Many of them are in disrepair and do not have protective memorial plaques.

The use of nonoperating churches as museums, art galleries, and exhibition halls is proceeding at a very unsatisfactory pace. Even the repaired buildings are not used for years, which causes citizens' discontent, originator complaints, and negatively affects the attempts to make the religious situation in the republic healthier.

The cases of subjectivism in deciding the issues of developing and building up the historical localities in Moldavia are especially alarming, where in violation of the law the destruction, relocation and changes of monuments are carried out sometimes without the permission of the USSR Council of Ministers and the MoSSR Council of Ministers. In a number of republic rayons and towns protective zones have not been preserved, and under the pretext of the necessity to develop cities, many monuments and buildings of substantial historical value were destroyed. Certain architectural and cultural monuments were built up around them and cannot be viewed.

There are instances of an indifferent attitude toward the monuments of military glory and of common graves. The lists of monuments under State protection lack a series of memorial places, and graves of heroes incompletely reflect monuments dedicated to the labor glory and the fraternal friendship of the Soviet peoples.

The mentioned deficiencies in many respects are the result of serious faults in the activities of the MoSSR Ministry of Culture and its local departments, which in accordance with the law are the specially responsible bodies of the State management and control in the field of protecting and using the monuments of history, archaeology, city building, architecture, and art. These departments in practice took the position of transferring these responsibilities to other authorities. An inventory of historic and cultural monuments does not exist.

The Ministry of Culture and ispolkoms of local Soviets did not take measures to strengthen and improve the work of the scientific-restoration and sculpture-industrial basis. The restoration and repair of monuments still remains at an insignificant level; quality and the pace of work are low; and there is a shortage of qualified personnel. Many objects are being restored for years.

The commissions noted that under the conditions of an increased spiritual activity of the society, restructuring of the work of the State and economic bodies with regard to the ideological, labor, moral, and military-patriotic education of the population, and preventing the distortion of historic events and belittling the people's input into the development of the national socialist culture, are necessary. The time has come to substantially increase the responsibilities of ministries, State committees, departments, law enforcement authorities, and ispolkoms of local soviets of the republic, for the protection and use of historic and cultural monuments, and to force these bodies to change their dogmatic approach to a real restructuring of their attitude toward resolving these problems.

The commission recognized that the legal requirements concerning the protection and use of historic and cultural monuments in the republic are inadequately fulfilled, and decided to send a report of the commissions to the MoSSR Council of Ministries in order to discuss and take measures directed to overcoming the deficiencies.

The deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet, V.K. Pshenichnikov participated in the meeting of the commissions.

13355

#### **Estonia Last Republic To Form Cultural Preservation Society**

*18000151 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 26 Dec 87 p 2*

[Article by A. Panteleyev, architectural historian, council member of the Estonian SSR Society for the Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture: "Protected by Society"]

[Text] The past few years, which have occurred under the emblem of decisive changes, have seen an awakening and activization of social consciousness. Within scant months, all of the following were created: the Society To Fight for Sobriety, the Soviet Culture Fund, the Soviet Children's Fund.... Now the number of social organizations in the republic has been increased by still another society....

On 12 December in Tallinn, in the hall of the House of Trade Unions, 226 deputies, emissaries from a multitude of circles, clubs, and other associations united by their common concern for the preservation of our cultural heritage, unanimously voted for the establishment of the Society for the Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture of Estonia.

And so, the only union republic which did not have such an organization finally acquired one. This officially approved organization did not take shape in a vacuum. Until recently, fragmented clubs and cultured people of the republic were carrying out work each in their own

fashion. In the last several years, propaganda for preserving monuments and practical action to save them has been directed and coordinated by a council of clubs for the preservation of antiquities. Among the many actions of the council were the extremely massive and organized republic rallies in 1986 in Yuuri and in 1987 in Keyla, which eloquently demonstrated the power and vitality of the movement. A constituent committee was formed which drew up a draft of the charter of the Society, defining its further activity, tasks, and goals.

Estonia was the first of the union republics to adopt a Law Concerning the Preservation of Cultural Monuments—on 8 June 1961. In 1976, the USSR Law "On the Preservation and Use of Monuments of History and Culture" was passed. The laws defined the concepts, categories and types of protected monuments, their legal conditions, organs of leadership and control, and the responsibility of citizens and officials for violation of the legislation. Finally, Article 68 of the USSR Constitution says: "Concern for the preservation of monuments of history and culture is the duty and obligation of a citizen of the USSR." In tandem with the improved legislation, other measures were taken as well. In 1966, again the first in the USSR, a protected zone was established for the historic centers of Tallinn, Pyarnu, Vilyandi, Rakvere, Vyru, Kingiseppa, Khaapsalu, Payde, and the settlement of Likhula. The complete listing has 5,513 monuments of history and culture which are under state protection, of which 597 are monuments of architecture.

Local restorers have achieved shining successes in restoration and renewal: a museum-concert hall in Niguliste Church, museums in Kuressaare and Narve castles, and many others. In 1980, Tallinn received the Gold Medal of Europe for preservation of architectural monuments. It would seem that neither the specialists nor the public had any reason for alarm.

Nevertheless, every one of the greater than 3,000-strong army of soldiers for the preservation of monuments who were in the hall of the House of Trade Unions might, with hand on heart, tell of the truly catastrophic situation of certain monuments of history and culture.

In focusing attention on the sights which are the most popular and customary, and as a rule going through the appealing main lines, we have completely neglected the depths, territories which are vast on the scale of our small republic, sometimes entire regions. Despite the multitude of decisions and decrees, former landowners' estates and monuments in Khyreda, Norra, Raykkyula, Okhtu, Tylluste, and others are in wretched condition.

To please departmental interests and market considerations, individual buildings and entire blocks of the protected zones of historic centers are disfigured or destroyed. Empty churches are in poor condition in Mukhu, Peyde, Pyukhalepa, Khanila.... Monuments of archaeology are being flung open and destroyed.

Presently the republic has no goal-oriented propaganda for the preservation of monuments, and there are no permanent publications aimed both at specialists and at the broadest readership. Professional preservation of monuments is powerless to apply the legislation. As a result, a situation has come about in which a chief who is guilty of annihilating a priceless cultural stratum of the 13th-15th centuries with a power shovel is punished, in the best case, with a small monetary fine, while a worker who through ignorance destroys unique medieval wall paintings (as occurred in Tallinn, in 39 Pikk building,) most often remains completely unpunished. And yet every such loss is irreplaceable.

Man cannot exist without memory, without history, without interpreting the works of his fathers and grandfathers. Deprived of memory, man is like the mankur in Ch. Aytmatov's novel "I dolshe veka dlitsya den".

Our schools could also be doing more in this area. *Kodulinn* is an excellent example, but it is the only one. But after all, it is in childhood that the foundation is laid for that love and respect for one's native land, which later develops into a feeling of true internationalism. It is impossible to imagine that a cultured person would be a patriot only of his own homestead or his own village. He could not help but respect the cultural heritage of other countries, other peoples, as well, he could not help but see world culture in all the complexity of its interrelationships and development. This was mentioned by that enthusiast of monument preservation, elected honorary chairman of the Society, an authoritative researcher of ancient architecture, and honored figure of culture Villem Raam, who gave a speech in the House of Trade Unions, as well as by other speakers.

Of course, nothing changes within a single day, after simply giving a speech in the Society for the Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture of Estonia—and anyone interested in the preservation of the country's monuments can give a speech here, regardless of their age (those less than 16 years old under the rights of a young member). A great deal of goal-oriented work is required in order to firmly establish the idea that "preserving the country's monuments is not a luxury but a necessity." In fulfilling this high task, the Society will give practical assistance in caring for monuments and renewing them, organizing various projects under the leadership of specialists. It will carry out goal-oriented fund drives, moreover the first donations from establishments and private individuals have already been made. Agents of the Society will carry out public surveillance of the condition of monuments under protection. The Society will clean up monuments of history and culture from acts of vandalism or weather damage, find out who is guilty of damaging them, enter into mutual agreements with the tenants of monuments, study publishing possibilities, put together a library and archives, and help to create independent museums.

12255

**New Film Depicts Results of Nuclear War**  
*18000163a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 5 Dec 87 p 4*

[Article by P. Smirnov: "Addressed to the Living"]

[Text] Everything that is the best in Soviet cinematography has always been distinguished by acute political directedness, a genuinely humanitarian spirit, and the emotional content of the struggle for the peaceful future of mankind. For good reason, therefore, the immortal "Battleship Potemkin," which has been recognized as the best film of "all times and all nations," has become not only a phenomenon of Art with a capital A, but also a political phenomenon.

Today as well, Soviet cinema masters are addressed in their work the most pertinent and most pressing problems of the planet's present-day political life. Director S. Mikazlyan (who is well known to film audiences from his movies "The Prize," "Widows," and "In Love At His Own Desire"), in his movie "Flight 222" (Lenfilm [Leningrad Motion Picture Studio]), has recreated on the screen an incident that occurred several years ago at a New York airport. The American administration, in an act of provocation, had delayed takeoff of an Aeroflot aircraft with passengers on board, in the attempt to persuade a young Soviet actress not to return to her homeland. The director's intention — to reconstruct an actual event in every detail — thus determined the artistic format of the film. The film was shot (cameraman S. Astakhov) in a severe, "documentary" style. The film's basic merit lies in the journalistic drama, in the precise artistic and civic position taken by its creators. The participation of unprofessional actors helps us, without being distracted by our recognition of familiar faces we have seen on the screen, to concentrate our attention on the events that are occurring, and to believe their reliability, immediacy, and "lack of organization." But this very lack of professionalism on the part of the actors prevents those actors themselves, and then prevents us, from looking deeply into the hearts and souls of their heroes, who, in an emergency situation, demonstrated genuine patriotism and loyalty to their homeland. And this, in its turn, leads to a situation in which the effect of the film upon the audience noticeably weakens as the story that formed its basis recedes increasingly into the past.

"Flight 222" reconstructs the recent past, but the movie "Letters of a Deadman" (script writers K. Lopushanskiy and V. Rybakov, with the participation of B. Strugatskiy; director K. Lopushanskiy), which was also filmed at Leninfilm, attempts to create the possible future. Possible... if, in the world, intelligence does not triumph, if the forces of peace are not victorious over the forces of war and obscurantism. It creates that world in just a painstaking and graphic manner. And it is unbearably terrifying to look at it. It is almost impossible to believe this. Roaming among the blasted buildings and devastated streets that are swept by radioactive winds, among the

fragments of a human civilization that has been submerged in a brown, stinking liquid, stumbling against swollen corpses and stepping on slime-covered books, are eerie — faceless — figures wearing rubber-coated boots and gas masks (cameraman N. Pokoptsev, artists Ye. Amshinskaya, V. Ivanov). We hear the squeaking of the steel doors on the bomb shelters slam shut, as the few survivors prepare to leave the disfigured, lifeless face of the earth and go underground into the central bunker. And dashing around all of them is a person with a permanent pain of despair in his eyes (in my opinion, this is the best of the “serious” roles that have been played by R. Bykov), a scientist with a name known throughout the world, a Nobel Prize winner, who has just buried his wife and who himself is living his last days and is still searching for the son who was lost during the first hours of the catastrophe and to whom he is mentally writing long letters. These are nonexistent letters to a person who, all things considered, is already nonexistent also. “Letters of a Deadman.” That is the title that the film’s creators gave to it. But it certainly could just as well be called “The Next Day” (that is, the next day after the nuclear apocalypse). Incidentally, we recently saw an American television movie by that name. The American cinematographer has previously dealt with that topic (one need only remember S. Kramer’s excellent movie “On the Beach”), in order to shake up, stun, and terrify the audiences with the apocalyptic visions of the nuclear catastrophe recreated on the screen all the entire scope and special effects of modern cinema technology. Most frequently those films frightened people, and sometimes issued doleful warnings. The Soviet film can also be included among the warning films. But while sternly and mercilessly warning us against any illusions of a radiant and cloudless tomorrow in a world that is already saturated to the maximum extent with mass destruction weapons, this movie nevertheless does not kill the hope within us. And that hope is not only in the final frames, in which the small figures of children walk into the face of the lethal wind. The hope lies in the very fact that audiences can view the film “Letters of a Deadman,” a film that is addressed to the people on the planet which are currently alive and living. It lies in the limitless faith that its creators have in the strength of collective human intelligence, intelligence that must be able not to give in, that must be able to overcome nuclear folly. That is why, however terrible it is to view “Letters of a Deadman,” we must not look away from the screen, but instead each of us must decide for himself what his position is with respect to the events that are occurring in today’s world. We must do this if we want to prevent this future on the screen from becoming our real tomorrow.

5075

### **Armenian Official Describes Loss of Historical Monuments**

18000163b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
17 Dec 87 p 3

[Interview with Aleksan Matveyevich Kirakosyan under rubric “Second Life for Monuments”: “Roots”]

[Excerpt] At the present time there are approximately 20,000 historical, cultural, and architectural monuments on the territory of reborn Soviet Armenia.

KOMMUNIST correspondent S. Geoletyan has requested Aleksan Matveyevich Kirakosyan, chief of the Main Administration for the Protection and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments, under ArSSR Council of Ministers, to answer a few questions involving the protection and restoration of monuments.

[Question] Aleksan Matveyevich, as you know, time is irreversible. It has wiped off the face of the earth many ancient cities: Troy, Carthage, Tigranacert, Ani... But man cannot live without studying the history of the past, without those roots that feed modern culture...

[Answer] That is correct. History is the nation’s memory, its biography, the hereditary link that the present generations have with the past ones. Our nation’s memory goes back deeply in time, as far back as the dawn of human civilization.

And what can be the most reliable pedestal for the formation of political, moral, and artistic principles if not the nation’s history throughout the ages?

Consigning to oblivion a nation’s thousand-year history means failing to understand today as well. It means being incapable of creating the latest culture.

Unfortunately, one continues to encounter today people who suffer from the nihilistic approach to the historical heritage. This tendency is dangers and short-sighted.

During recent decades along, in the course of various kinds of construction operations, approximately 40 historical and archeological monuments were destroyed or damaged.

[Question] Could you give some specific examples?

[Answer] Of course! A considerable amount of the fortress dating back to the second through first centuries [B.C.], which is situated 3 kilometers to the east of the village of Arindzh, Abovianskiy Rayon, was destroyed by Armtransgazstroy construction workers. The construction workers did not enough find time to inform the local authorities, the Main Administration, or the archeology institute concerning the ceramic articles that were discovered during the earth-moving operations.

And yet the scientific study of that ancient settlement could have played an extremely important role in ascertaining interesting facts about the early period in our nation’s history.

[Question] Were the guilty individuals punished?

[Answer] Acting on behalf of our administration, we made that request to the appropriate administrative levels, up to and including the republic procurator's office. The chief of the construction administration was given an administrative fine. But what good does that do? Because the "punishment" did not spare either science or history the irreparable loss of an ancient monument.

As a result of lack of responsibility on the part of officials, necropolises were destroyed on the territory of the villages of Akhavanatun, Aygeshat, and Tsakhkalandzh, Echmiadzinskiy Rayon, of the inhabitants of the village of Zolakar, Martuninskiy Rayon laid out vegetable gardens on their ancestors' graves.

[Question] How do the law and public opinion react to this?

[Answer] Obviously, the law stipulates punishments and fines levied against persons who carry out all these inadmissible actions. However, the moral foundation must be laid, must be "formalized" in each of us as a cry from the soul, as respect for the history of one's own nation.

Sometimes a person becomes an unwilling witness to the phenomenon when families or entire collectives have picnics on the territory of ancient monuments. As a rule, the picnickers leave their numerous "autographs" on the walls. Actions such as this must be severely discontinued and held up for reproach. Moreover, the guilty individuals (the persons who have defaced the monuments) must definitely be held accountable by the local soviet and law-enforcement agencies and by public opinion.

I recall that Ilya Erenburg said that people ought to walk barefoot over the land of Armenia, since it is possible to step on a miracle at every step.

[Question] Article X of the ArSSR Law Governing the Protection and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments states that the executive committees of the rayon, city, village, and settlement soviets, within the legal limits allowed by the law, provide for the discovery and accounting of monuments and organize sponsorship in the protection of those monuments by enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

[Answer] In the protection of historical artifacts, without a doubt, an extremely important role is played by the local soviets. However, there have been a rather large number of instances when it was specifically with their knowledge and permission that people have destroyed or have used for various purposes those ancient settlements which are still awaiting their discoverers and researchers — archeologists and historians.

Unfortunately, this is no rarity. In 1986, during the construction of a water main near the village of Norabats, Masisskiy Rayon, construction workers destroyed a

very ancient settlement dating back to the sixth to fourth millennia B.C., and previously, in 1984-1985, in exactly the same location, a burial field of the third to second millennia and a cemetery dating back to the tenth to thirteenth centuries were completely destroyed. And how is one supposed to act with regard to those soviet and economic administrators who, without blinking an eye, have been destroying one of the most ancient cities in Frontal Asia — Argishtikhinili-Armavir (eighth century B.C.). Similar treatment has been deemed worthy of historical and cultural monuments in Spitakskiy, Ashtarakskiy, and Oktembryanskiy rayons, in Rayon imeni Kamo, and in other rayons.

[Question] Aleksan Matveyevich, could you please tell us what operations are being carried out to restore monuments?

[Answer] The government, as well as the society for the protection of monuments, currently allocate for restoration purposes considerably more funds than they used to. Whereas, in the past, the restoration operations were carried out in a fragmented way over the entire republic, at the present time they are all being carried out in a centralized manner. Complexes are being restored in entirety. In recent years, for example, masterpieces of national architecture and culture have risen from the ruins, have shaken off the dust of centuries, and been reborn: the Tatev monastery complex, Arich, Ovavanak. A large volume of operations is being carried out in Yekhegnadzorskiy Rayon. Situated there is the Noravank monastery complex — a two-story church, the mausoleum of which is one of the most remarkable models of Armenia's construction mastery in the Middle Ages. In the twelfth-fourteenth centuries this complex was considered to be one of the most prominent cultural and educational centers of the Sunni branch of Islam.

In order to restore Noravank, an excellent crew of local stonemasons was created. Their work is led by a young, experienced architect — Grachya Gasparyan. He applies his efforts unstintingly to his beloved job. His plans will also be the basis for the restoration of a number of other important monuments.

Zvartnots is rightfully considered to be a brilliant example of Armenian architectural design. For a rather long period of time we did not do anything with it. After much thought, it was decided to preserve the temple and to carry out operations involving its partial restoration, and to guarantee the protection of the stone fragments at the monument. The designers of the preservation plan are architect Liparit Sadoyan and director of the administration's design office Telman Gevorkyan. Work is being done to study carefully one of Armenia's basilicas dating back to the early period — the Yereruyk temple. The leader of this work is Candidate of Architecture Vaagn Grigoryan. A large search is also being carried out in order to restore the monuments of Shirakskaya Valley.

The restoration of the tenth-century monastery complex that was erected by Vagram Pakhlavuni will begin in 1988 to mark the thousandth anniversary of its founding.

As for Karmir-blur and Arin-berd, it must be noted that, taking into consideration the construction technology that was employed by our ancestors, our specialists are attempting, in the process of restoring the archeological monuments, to use specifically raw and half-baked bricks. Within the near future it is programmed to restore or preserve the structures at Metsamor, Dvin, and other archeological sites.

Something else that seems important to me is the fact that at the present time we have begun to prepare plans for the protective zones around the monuments. Approximately 960 such plans have already been prepared.

[Question] Many Armenian monuments have been decorated with frescoes dating back to various periods. What is being done to restore and protect them?

[Answer] Painting on walls is an inseparable part of all our painting and it is worthy of scientific research. Works that have become true works of art are the frescoes of Kobayr, Akhtala, Oganavank, Tatev, Kirantsvank, Lmbatevank, and other monuments.

A considerable amount of work in this direction has been done by the fresco restoration, duplication, and preservation department of our scientific-production shop. However, we have also had losses in this area. Without a doubt, it is simply indifference that was the reason why dampness was allowed to spoil incomparable examples of monumental painting at Tatev, Gndevank, and other monuments. Restoration operations are currently under way to restore the frescoes at Akhtala and Megri. It is planned to save the wall paintings at Armenian monuments not only within the republic, but also beyond its confines.

5075

#### **Academician Encourages Study of Ukrainian Folklore**

18110049[Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian on 5 Jan 1988 carries on page 3 a 700-word article by M. Dmitrenko, kandidat of philological sciences and member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Dmitrenko speaks out strongly on the need for "the preservation, study and popularization" of Ukraine's folklore legacy, stating that Ukraine's folklore has been in the process of being recorded now for five centuries. In the 1920's there were officially more than 4,000 people involved in setting down Ukraine's folklore legacy, whereas presently the number has shrunk to less than 1,000.

Dmitrenko states that Ukraine's institutions of higher education still do not have a single folklore or musical folklore department. He notes that in schools and colleges the time devoted to the study of native Ukrainian folklore, despite the fact that native works are "the foundation upon which literature, theater, music and the fine arts are grounded."

Dmitrenko advocates the intensive study of traditional artistic culture by school age children as well as students at higher levels of education.

#### **Tajik Culture Fund Activities, Plans Noted** *18000169a Dushanbe KOMMUNIST* *TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 19 Dec 87p 3*

[Interview with Mukhiddin Makhmudov, first deputy chairman of the board of Tajikistan's Culture Fund, by Ye. Nagornichnykh, date and place not specified, "Let Beauty Grow!"]

[Text] The board of Tajikistan's Culture Fund, the Ministry of Culture, the Tajik SSR State Committee for Television and Radio and the Rayon Committee of the republic's Trade Union of Cultural Workers have decided to make the 19th of December Culture Fund Day. Here is my conversation with the first deputy chairman of the board of the republic's Culture Fund, Mukhiddin Makhmudov.

[Question] What is the purpose of this action? What specifically do you propose to do in connection with it?

[Answer] This initiative of ours represents the country's first experience in organizing activities of this kind. The main goal is propaganda for those tasks and projects which our Fund intends to carry out. The republic's Ministry of Culture has prepared an extensive program within the framework of Culture Fund Day: all 13 professional theaters will turn over to the Culture Fund the proceeds from performances taking place on that day, and the money will be directed to the concrete purposes specified by the contributors. The Theater imeni Vl. Mayakovskiy, for example, wants its contributions to go toward a monument to Vasilii Terkin to be erected in the Smolensk region.

Subbotniks will be held for the maintenance of memorable and historical places. But only on a truly volunteer basis—that is the main principle in our activities. The exhibit of the works of Nada Rusheva, which was opened in the exhibit hall of the Tajikistan Union of Writers, will continue. Everyone who has visited or will visit this exhibit, for which there is an admission charge, can consider that he has made a contribution to preserving the drawings by this talented girl, drawings which have become a national treasure. The money raised will make it possible to catalog and restore the collection belonging to the Soviet Culture Fund.

[Question] The Soviet Culture Fund, in accordance with its charter, provides a stipend in its name to the most gifted and active people whose activities are in line with the goals and tasks of this organization. Are there any candidates from among the republic's residents?

[Answer] After the decision was made to establish the Soviet Culture Fund's stipend, we made an appeal through the mass media for people to nominate their candidates. Many letters were received. At a session of the board of the Tajikistan Culture Fund we discussed six candidates, who included composers, singers, a stained-glass window artist, a translator of ancient manuscripts and others. We chose Kiyemiddin Sattarov. We think that he fits the Code of Honor for the incipient of the Soviet Culture Fund stipend.

A journalist and worker at the Kurgan-Tyube Oblast Radio Committee, this man managed to stop the destruction of hills being used for agricultural work after proving the existence there of cultural strata which tell about the past of our people. At Kiyemiddin's home you can see a unique museum which has more than 200 very valuable volumes and objects of material culture created between the first century of our era and the recent past. The stipend will give him the opportunity to carry out more fully his philanthropic plans—to prepare and donate these priceless relics to the Soviet Culture Fund.

[Question] What kind of donations is the Tajikistan Culture Fund receiving at present?

[Answer] An exhibit of the first donations opened in October at the capital's House of Writers; it included old manuscripts, syuzans, pictures by Tajik artists, and some of the displays from K. Sattarov's personal museum. Also on exhibit were archeological findings from the Chormagztep Castle located in Dushanbe, a large part of which was uncovered as a result of excavations carried out at the initiative of our Culture Fund by a group of student enthusiasts from Tajikistan State University (TSU). Viktor Stepanovich Solovyev, chairman of the Fund's presidium, directed this work during his vacation.

Seven pictures by Tajikistan artists were donated to the library in the village of Yakhch in Komsomolabadskiy Rayon. The library was built with funds from the chairman of the board of our Fund, Gulrukhsor Safiyeva. She also collected the 30,000 volumes which it had when it opened. The library continues to receive books.

[Question] Which directions in the activities of the Tajikistan Culture Fund will become most important in the near future?

[Answer] The focus of our attention today is the program which we have provisionally called "Meros" ("Heritage"). It includes the most diverse projects, but the main one is the millenium of the "Shah Namah" by

Firdusi. We are talking about putting up a monument, a sculptural composition or a memorial dedicated to the heroic deeds of Firdusi and the characters of his immortal book.

The entire population will decide what kind of monument this will be. The discussion has already started on quite a broad scale; the people will also decide which lines will be put on the pedestal.

There have already been contributions. The latest was received recently from instructors in the Tajik Language Department at TSU. Dzhurabek Murodov, people's artist of the USSR, has contributed some money from the Tajik SSR State Prize imeni Rudaka for the construction of the monument.

We very much need broad community support and interest, and we need concrete actions which will help us to preserve and expand the cultural heritage of our people.

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#### **Kolbin Speech at Kazakh Artists Congress Reported**

*18000169b Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 87 pp 1,3*

[Speech by G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, at the 12th Congress of Kazakhstan Artists, 27-28 November in Alma-Ata: "Be Faithful to the Truth of Life"]

[Excerpt] As already reported, the 12th Congress of Kazakhstan Artists took place on 27-28 November in Alma-Ata in the Conference Hall of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. Reports were presented by the board of the creative union and the revision commission concerning the work carried out during the report period.

G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, who spoke at the congress, noted that the first two years of the current five-year plan were an important stage in the realization of the party's strategic decisions, in the decisive elimination of negative phenomena in the economy, in the unification of life and the concept of acceleration, and the movement of accumulated social problems into the center of attention.

In this complex and difficult process an important role belongs to the creative intelligentsia, which is called upon to look more deeply into the essence of the changes taking place and to increase the maturity of the public consciousness and the firmness of people's moral behavior. It is precisely the category of morality which is acquiring particular socio-political significance today because it directly influences the moral-psychological atmosphere of society, and thus the course of perestroika as well.

Historical experience shows that the rapid social and cultural movement of the USSR peoples toward a new socialist art has become reality thanks to the mutual penetration of nationality and inter-nationality features. The level of the fine arts in Kazakhstan and the qualitative growth of professionalism achieved in painting, drawing and sculpture are naturally related to the broad internationalization of the national cultures. Today we recall with respect the names of the remarkable artists who laid the historic foundation of the realistic painting of the Kazakhstan school—N. Khludov, A. Kasteyev and A. Cherkasskiy. The baton was passed to their worthy successors in the post-war generation—K. Telzhanov, A. Stepanov, N. Gayev, S. Mambeyev, A. Galimbayev, Ye. Sidorkin, G. Ismailov and many others.

The continuity of the generations and the forward development of the professional school of fine arts in Kazakhstan have found their reflection in the anniversary exhibits which are now taking place in Moscow, Alma-Ata and the oblast centers of the republic; they constitute a creative report by the artists to their congress. Based on the works exhibited one can conclude that—in addition to the established artists—an entire galaxy of interesting new names has emerged in Alma-Ata, Tselinograd, Chimkent, Pavlodar, Karaganda, Dzhambul and Kzyl-Orda.

However, the open, mutually-trusting conversations which previously did not take place between the working person and the person of artistic labor and the phenomena of the stagnant period have become a bitter lesson and a reproach. The creative work of artists became distorted by a slogan-oriented, gung-ho patriotic approach to the perception of reality, by self-admiration and by the loss of artistic, moral and esthetic principles.

In the CPSU Central Committee decree "Concerning the Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization on the International and Patriotic Education of the Working People" serious claims were made against the republic's scientific and creative workers to the effect that their works frequently idealized the past of the Kazakh people and that attempts were being made to rehabilitate bourgeois nationalists. The struggle against the feudal-rich landowner mores and the patriarchal-clan customs was lessened. At the same time the revolutionary past of the Kazakhstan peoples was ignored and the friendship of the peoples was only declared. Today some people are expressing secretly or openly disagreement with these judgements. But, after all, you cannot take the words out of a song. All this existed, all this disturbed and irritated the conscience of honest people. The main point is to make glasnost, openness, and adherence to principles in the judgement of negative phenomena the norm of life today, to act on the basis of one's knowledge and understanding of the truth and not to make a deal with one's conscience.

It is no secret that in the creative milieu there are "servants of the muses," who at any convenient opportunity are capable of directing circumstances to their

own benefit. They are inclined to work for rewards, special privileges and recognition; they attempt to draw into their selfish group opposition not only their own creative union but also the party organs. "...All unprincipled elements," wrote V.I. Lenin, "always try to cover up the great questions of principle with cheap sensation and scandal."

The artistic intelligentsia cannot stand off to one side when the country is in the midst of a difficult campaign. It is essential to use all forces to conduct the struggle for man, to strengthen his faithfulness to high humanistic ideals. This task requires the consolidation of all creative forces. It is necessary to protect and support talent, which is an invaluable state treasure and the non-material capital of the nation, as well as to struggle uncompromisingly for an honest, artistic civic position for the creative worker, a position which constitutes the essence of his life. The Soviet intelligentsia has always been in large part the protector, creator, guide and propagandist for the most advanced culture and art.

Now, in the second stage of perestroika, society needs, more than ever, a thinking person, who desires and is capable of carrying out his own difficult work, great and small, in a creative manner. And who if not the creative intelligentsia, the masters of the brush, the pen, the stage and screen, are to be active rather than formal participants in the transformations, are to accept and act in a responsible manner on the general concern to elevate the spiritual world of their contemporaries.

However in art, as in every other sphere, embellishment, opportunism and depersonalization of the historical process are harmful. It is essential that a clear philosophical position be present when considering any phenomena of the past or the present.

It is important to shape a creative rather than a passive patriotism. A patriot is not he who shouts the loudest about his love for the Motherland, and not he who, like some political extremists from the Pamyat Society, searches everywhere for internal enemies in the persons of Masons and Zionists. A patriot is he who overcomes obstacles and fears no difficulties as he acts in the interests of our Fatherland.

Internationalism must be just as active. Internationalism in practice is the growing contribution of every republic to the unified national economic complex. It is the further strengthening of nationality personnel from the working class. And the mutual enrichment with spiritual values. And the development of bilingualism. And of course, the formation of firm internationalistic convictions among the Soviet people.

It is distressing and ridiculous, the speaker said further, when you hear voices talking about a higher priority being given to any given culture. The bacilli of nationalism are capable of killing a talent of any magnitude. That is why the tasks which are being resolved by the artistic

intelligentsia under the conditions of perestroika, democracy and glasnost are in no way compatible with cliquishness, with exclusiveness in the cocoon of elitism or with self-interest in any of its manifestations.

And, of course, the feeling of reality must gain ascendancy over heated passions. When the efforts are uncoordinated, they do not reach the target. Unity grows on the basis of growth in consciousness. And to see more and better means to be united.

As we become upset—justifiably—by the actions of specific individuals with inadequacies, by those who disregard their obligations and by their indifference to social interests, we do not always stop to think that each of them works in a collective, and not somewhere autonomously, separate from it. That is why the collective and communists must openly, in a principled manner and with full voice remind such people about responsibility, the obligations to work according to one's conscience and to live in accordance with the norms of a socialist community, which are identical for everyone.

Today new themes are knocking at studio doors; new social mandates are waiting for their creative embodiment. There is one criterion for creative success here, and it includes high ideals, a class approach, and congruence between the time of perestroika and perfected mastery.

While setting responsible tasks before literature and art, the party and the government at the same time are creating, to put it frankly, unprecedented opportunities for the acceleration of socio-cultural construction. In the last two years alone the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a number of fundamentally important decisions on strengthening the material base of the socio-cultural sphere, on improving the utilization of cultural-educational institutions and sports facilities, on measures to further develop concert activity and on experiments in the theater. A number of social organizations has been created to facilitate acceleration in the spiritual sphere—the Soviet Culture Fund and the All-Union Musical Society. Secretaries and bureau members of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and of many obkoms have recently started to hold regular meetings with the most active members of the artistic intelligentsia. These meetings are not held for the sake of outward appearances. As a rule there is an informal conversation on specific problems in the state of artistic culture, followed by an exchange of opinions on accumulated issues and a joint search for ways to resolve them.

On the other hand, they provide those who are active in literature and art with information which helps to introduce them to the tasks which are currently being resolved in the republic; it also helps to strengthen their ties with life and to determine a true course in the conditions of today and tomorrow.

The test of perestroika is a difficult examination for all, including creative workers. Will the artist be able to catch and interpret the revolutionary enthusiasm, the spirit of the changes taking place in society; will he be able to see in the particular, everyday fact that which is general and characteristic of our time; will he find for this the necessary words and colors—by this and only by this is the social significance of his works determined. And for this everyone needs to augment his work fundamentally and to judge it by the end result.

Artists are active fighters on the ideological front. In a unique way they feel the acuteness of the moment being experienced, and with their own means they are capable of influencing substantially the outcome of perestroika, as well as the consciousness and behavior of their contemporaries.

Artists are called upon to portray in works which are ideological, popular and highly artistic this watershed period and to contribute to the education of people in the spirit of genuine internationalism and Soviet patriotism, people who are honest, strong with the energy of intentions and actions, and who are capable of taking upon themselves the burden of responsibility for today and tomorrow. The affairs of our contemporaries await their embodiment in canvases, statues and written pages. One would like to see our Soviet worker, our Soviet peasant and the member of our Soviet intelligentsia of the late 80's of the 20th century appear before the spectator as insightfully portrayed by the artist in all the complexity of the dialectics of character, designs and ideas. The newly elected governing board of the union and its party organization must—with the help of party and soviet organs—strengthen the ties which have been broken within the collective and establish creative contact within the artists' milieu; they must try to become organizers of work with the people, who are the judges of their creative work. It is essential to have among the members of the union a continuous discussion and a lively exchange of opinions on all creative questions; this presupposes demanding judgment and high standards for the ideological-artistic level of the works which are being created.

It is necessary to re-examine in a fundamental way the system of artistic education, beginning with institutions of elementary pre-professional training and ending with the graduation of skilled specialists of all types and genres of the fine arts. There is plenty here for Gosplan, the ministries of 1) education, 2) higher and specialized secondary education and 3) culture, as well as for the creative unions of artists, architects and designers themselves to think about.

It is essential to implement new approaches in the system of competitions for the best works and in the practice of placing state commissions for them. Art lovers and critics must play an important role in the system of perestroika of the union.

It is essential to improve and develop propaganda for the fine arts and for exhibits. In addition to the already existing forms and methods of this work, the republic's Ministry of Culture and the Union of Artists must look for new opportunities, which will extend the active life of a work.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers and the corresponding republic decree on measures to further develop the fine arts and increase their role in the communist indoctrination of the working people point out, in particular, the need for comprehensive architectural-artistic designs for city-planning complexes and civil construction facilities, which under the conditions of our republic have extremely great significance.

Long before the decree many cities in the country had worked out comprehensive architectural-artistic plans for the future and had begun to carry them out. In our republic this question has not yet been thoroughly worked through. Even the capital of Kazakhstan still does not have such a plan.

The Union of Artists, the Union of Architects and the newly created Union of Designers, under the auspices of the Alma-Ata party gorkom and gorispolkom, must give this problem substantial thought. Such a plan is also essential to all other oblast centers and major cities, and possibly to the rayons. The party committees and soviets of people's deputies must put this work under their own control.

And, finally, one of our sore points is the material and equipment base of the fine arts. In accordance with the recently adopted party and government decisions, certain measures are being taken to strengthen it. For example, Kazakhstan SSR Gosplan has allotted funds for capital investment and quotas for the 1988 planning of cooperative creative studios in Alma-Ata; for the production base of the repair and construction administration of the republic's Artistic Fund; and for the expansion of the monument-sculpture unit of the "Oner" combine. The plan for next year includes funds and quotas for the USSR Artistic Fund amounting to approximately 406,000 rubles for its share of housing construction.

Plans call for the quotas and funds of the USSR Artistic Fund to cover the planning (in 1988) for the renovation and expansion of the House of Artists in Alma-Ata, the estimated cost of which will amount to about 4 million rubles.

Work is being carried out to establish and improve the facilities of the artistic-production workshops in Ust-Kamenogorsk, Kzyl-Orda and Kokchetav.

Attention was directed to the fact that many questions concerning the supplies of materials and equipment are not always resolved with a sufficient sense of responsibility and urgency either on the part of the republic agencies and the local party and soviet organs or the Union of Artists itself and the republic's Artistic Fund. All this requires the most attentive consideration and and resolution.

The time of perestroika, G.V. Kolbin said in conclusion, requires of artists an active search and constant striving for renewal without which any art is doomed to stagnation.

We believe that the republic's creative intelligentsia, which is rich in talented, mature, original masters, and which is capable of mobilizing its forces to face the enormous problems of the time, will respond to them in a profound and worthy manner.

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### 'SOVESTKAYA KULTURA' Begins New Reader Opinion Column

18000157A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in  
Russian 1 Jan 88 p 7

[Unattributed report: "I've Got an Opinion About That!"]

[Text] This column cannot exist without you, the readers. Its purpose is to reflect your different — at times opposite — opinions and judgments concerning various features in our culture and our entire spiritual life. The evaluation of an event, a book, a movie, a play, or a television broadcast must be as brief as possible, and it is even desirable for it to be aphoristic. On the other hand, we would not like to print judgments that can be reduced to an elementary "I like it" or "I don't like it." Instead, let's try to express more profound thoughts.

If the column "I've Got an Opinion About That!" had appeared sooner, it would definitely have touched upon, for example, Yu. Bondarev's novel "Igra" [The Game] and T. Abuladze's movie "Repentance." We have no doubt that the new television broadcasts, problems of rock music, and a magazine article would also have deserved your attention.

The more promptly you respond to something that is new, the better. Knowing that it is necessary to begin somewhere, the editorial office has asked our correspondents to conduct the first minisurvey, and in individual instances we have used letters.

In the future we hope that you will enthusiastically offer us your judgments without waiting to be asked to do so.

Of course this column does not take the place of broad discussions, reviews, or public opinion research (incidentally, in the near future we plan to open up on the

pages of this newspaper the "Public Opinion Institute"). This column lays claim only to brevity and promptness and requires keenness of thought and the desire to get into a dispute. Do you want to express your opinion? If so, write to us on a postcard, "Attention: 'I've Got an Opinion About That!'", or call us on 285-49-11.

What should you express your opinion about? About everything that has excited you.

*Results of the Election to USSR Academy of Sciences*

Yu. Isichenko, candidate of philological sciences, Kharkov:

I was happy for S. Averintsev. For a long time he has occupied a well-deserved spot on our scientific Olympus. I. Frolov, who now has become an academician, even during the years of the unrestrained reign of the "residual" principle always spoke out in favor of man, in favor of humanitarian priorities. Everything in this regard is fair. The list for the Physiology Department contains the names of Gavriil Ilizarov and Stanislav Fedorov. I think that AMN [Academy of Medical Sciences], which cast them aside many years ago, has learned a good lesson...

V. Yefremov, candidate of philosophical sciences, Kishinev:

The Academy of Sciences, of course, must retain its rights and privileges. However, during this period of restructuring it would also be desirable to have more **glasnost** in its activity. It would be desirable if consideration were also given to a scientist's civic position. Among economists, for example, we were unable, when reading the election results, to find a number of names of people who express today the ideas of restructuring.

*Awarding of 1987 RSFSR State Prizes in Literature and Art*

A. Gushchin, journalist, Sverdlovsk:

Stanislav Kunyayev was deservedly given the high award. "Ogon, mertsayushchiy v sosude" [Fire Twin-kling in a Vessel] is not simply a book about a time that is relatively unknown to us. This work opens up for us new pages in Russian culture and Russian poetry and tells the truth which has taken a long time traveling through the years to get to us.

A. Smirnov, construction worker, Kostroma:

I read that Stanislav Kunyayev was awarded a RSFSR State Prize. Previously we had all learned that Vladimir Vysotskiy had been posthumously awarded a USSR State Prize. I do not want to say that time has put everyone in their proper places. I think that Kunyayev will be able in his creative works to reach new heights.

But I would not want him to continue in his articles to put Vysotskiy's talent in doubt. The truth of the matter is that this does not benefit Kunyayev either as a poet or as a Russian intellectual.

*Documentary Film "More Light!"*

S. Kameritskiy, pilot, Moscow:

Personally, I am confused. What does "more light" or "less light" mean? Isn't it time simply for it to become light?... Instead of that, there are the pages of the flip-off calendar with the persistently flashing figures — 27, 37... — and the importunately repeated promise to provide more and more truth. But the promise of truth did not take the place of truth... I do not understand what the writers had in mind — a cursory campaign against illiteracy, or a profound discussion about life?

S. Astakov, postgraduate student, Leningrad:

I watched it with interest. Finally I have seen Trotskiy's face on the screen, but that didn't make me a Trotskiy-ite...

O. Avisentyev, engineer, Donetsk:

The film used newsreel frames that had never been known to exist. I would like to know how many similar frames still exist in the archives. Isn't it time to show all of them?

*Art Film "Forgotten Melody for Flute"*

V. Tambovtsev, doctor of economic sciences, Moscow:

Once again Ryazanov has set everyone laughing. This is a real satire about our mores. But is it really necessary to "administer" people's free time? It is obvious that it would be best not to do it the way that the film heroes do. Unfortunately, they are not the only ones who think that it would be desirable to create a Main Administration — and then a procedure. But what is occurring with the free time itself? Alas, to many people the bureaucratic model of pseudoadministration still appears to be the sole panacea.

G. Bragin, military serviceman, Ust-Kamengorsk:

Yet another treatment of "la dolce vita" of the chiefs, their love affairs, etc.? It's not funny. People shouldn't laugh. Instead, they should cry. And how does it all end? The mistress resurrects the "boss." Now the implication is that he can continue to betray his wife and ban plays...

G. Petrov's Article "Is This the Way to Fight Your Way to the Truth?" (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 24 November 1987)

A. Ivanov, miner, Voroshilovgrad Oblast:

G. Petrov wrote correctly. It is necessary to rebuff the demagogues. I'd like to see that "workaholic" D. Vasilyev, who "plows 24 hours a day," come to our mine face for only six hours. Then we would give him the podium and he could talk to the people about whom he is so concerned. I am convinced that not a single miner would say that he is an "inhabitant of the underground" or "an inhabitant of the reservations," as D. Vasilyev calls himself. We work, we give heat to people, and we are proud of that. But the chatterers from the Pamyat Society, don't you know, are saving Russia.

I. Korchagina, engineer, Leningrad:

Article author G. Petrov was at a conference and he could not find within himself the elementary male bravery to lodge a protest concerning all the factors that were cited by him in the article. He would not have had to take off his wig and unglue his moustache in order to express his fundamental position. He removed his mask half a month after the conference and then everyone saw his true face...

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#### **Experimental 'Drive-in' Theater Planned for Uzbek City**

18000157b Moscow *EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN* in Russian No 10, Oct 87 p 70

[Article by M. Aziz-Kariyev, deputy chief for capital construction, Andizhan Oblast Administration of Movie Circuit Development, under rubric "Services Sphere": "Movie Theaters for... Automobiles"]

[Text] According to statistical data, as of today more than 10 percent of our country's population are automobile owners. It is no accident that at the 27th CPSU Congress emphasis was placed on the need to create an up-to-date set of services related to automobile maintenance. Something that can become one of the new forms of these services is the roadside "automobile movie theater."

Exactly what constitutes a "drive-in" movie? Putting it succinctly, it is a structure that allows people to watch movies while seated in their cars. The cars are parked perpendicular to the screen on terraces that have a slight backward slope, thus providing good visibility even for those who are seated in the back seat of the car. The terraces are 11-12 meters wide, to allow the cars to drive freely to the parking spots. Each car, or each pair of adjacent cars, is provided with an individual loudspeaker. The viewers can regulate the sound level to their own preference without leaving the car.

The number of cars accommodated at a drive-in movie can vary greatly. The size of the drive-in can vary from miniature areas accommodating only a few cars to tremendous arenas that occupy several hectares of land and that have on their territory, in addition to hundreds of

parking spots, various structures where the viewers can buy food, have personal services performed, have their cars serviced, or find recreational attractions.

The construction of such drive-in movies is only one of the aspects of the comprehensive development of the services designed for motorists. It will open up opportunities to make movies accessible to those who previously could not go to them, and particularly for physically handicapped persons. Moreover, the movie theaters that have unusual engineering peculiarities that enhance the visual, auditory, and, on the whole, the emotional perception of the films being shown, will undoubtedly expand the viewing audience immeasurably and will promote the overall improvement of efficiency in the providing of movie services.

A drive-in movie plan that has been developed in our country will accommodate 200 cars. Its estimated cost is 0.34 million rubles. With one or two showings a day and a ticket cost of 50 kopecks, all the expenses will be paid off in two and a half years.

The Bagishamal recreational area in the city of Andizhan, Uzbek SSR, has been chosen as the site for building an experimental drive-in movie theater.

What were the factors that dictated precisely this choice?

Andizhan is an oblast center that occupies first place in the USSR with regard to population density and concentration of passenger-car motor transport.

Andizhan Oblast is located on the territory of the thickly populated Fergana Valley, which is very well provided with modern motor highways. Practically all the populated points in the Fergana Valley are connected with oblast centers, and those oblast centers, in turn, are well connected to one another by means of asphalt-surface roads — a situation that is not observed even in Moscow Oblast.

As a result of the fact that most of the oblast inhabitants live in the individual sector, especially in rural localities, the privately owned motor transport, as a rule, is kept in immediate proximity to the car-owner's place of residence, whereas in major cities, such as Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and others, the garages are frequently located a considerable distance from the person's home. This situation greatly reduces the assumed rate of attendance by the future drive-in viewers in the capital centers and increases the possible rate of attendance by rural inhabitants who have motor transport. In this regard one cannot fail to note the role that these drive-in theaters can plan in making cultural reforms in the rural localities.

There is one more important factor — the natural-climatic conditions. During the wintertime, the parking area will have practically no need to be cleared of large snowdrifts and it can function year-round.

Andizhan Oblast is well provided with local raw materials for manufacturing the crushed stone, asphalt, and concrete that are needed for building the parking areas and the approach roads to them, and this reduces the construction costs.

A specific feature of drive-in movie theaters lies in the fact that, in order to build them, there is by no means mandatory to choose centers of architectural ensembles. If anything, it is just the contrary. They combine well with food-service establishments, automobile filling stations, motels, camping grounds, suburban parks, and recreational areas. The chief resource required to create them is a plot of land that has not been developed and that is in immediate proximity to major motor highways or is on the territory of recreational areas that attract motor tourists during the evening hours.

The question of choosing a construction site is simplified by the fact that, in order to build drive-in theaters, one can use undeveloped areas outside of town — depleted quarries, hollows in the foothills, areas of waste land that are unsuitable for agriculture and that are situated close to busy highways. In order to build small drive-in theaters, one can even use parking spots inside the city line.

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#### Reader Protests 'Zhdanov' Street Name

18000174a Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 47,  
21-28 Nov 87 pp 4-5

[Letter to the editor from L.Lyubovskiy, Tatar ASSR Honored Artist, from Kazan]

[Text] How often the new name was forced on a city, often by reasons of patronage. But how are people to resist the bureaucratic decision, except by grumbling in the halls. As to the press, it avoided this subject completely.

The public in our republic has correctly raised the question of restoring to the nation's map the ancient name Bulgary.

The same should be said about Naberezhnyye Chelny, about its wondrously poetic name. The restoration of the ancient name would be greeted in the city as a holiday, I am sure of it.

We have a Zhdanov Street in our city. And not only here; kolkhozes, social clubs, rayons, etc. have been named after Zhdanov. Yet, Zhdanov was one of the politicians who aided and abetted the emergence of Stalin's personality cult, he was one of its apologists. In every one of Zhdanov's speeches there is a bureaucrat's obeisance to "the great leader and teacher, the inspiration of all our victories."

And what about the notorious resolution on the literary journals ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD? Honestly, it is a shame to quote from the existing transcripts of Zhdanov's speeches on this subject at the Leningrad party aktiv meeting in 1946.

There have been an unjustifiably large number of victims, and the first to perish were those who tried to resist one way or another the atmosphere created by Stalin. Now, history is bringing back their names.

I would like to remind you that A.A. Zhdanov, as a All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party Central Committee secretary and an official in charge of ideology, among the first to share the responsibility with the "father of nations."

So, would you like to live on Zhdanov Street?

I wouldn't.

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#### OGONEK Reviews Recent Letters from Readers

18000174b Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 46,  
14-21 Nov 87 p 5

[Review of readers' letters by Valentin Yumashev, Editor, Letters and Morals Department.]

[Text] OGONEK received 1,032 letters in the past week.

For comparison's sake, last year we received that much correspondence in a month.

Starting with this issue, we will regularly publish an editorial review of OGONEK's letters. This time, the following articles in recent issues elicited the largest reader response:

"No Way Back" by V.Leibovskiy, in No.40. ("I feel that at this time, when there is no independent state entity controlling the ecological situation in the country, indifferent bureaucrats could be influenced only by the public opinion..." writes A.Tsarkov from Sverdlovsk.)

"The Stepdaughters of the Big City" by Yu.Osipov and A.Mikhaylovkiy, in No.41. ("...It's amazing how in some incredible way, with the help of various loopholes, bureaucratic tricks and administrative regulations, we have in effect put temporary workers into feudal dependence on residence permits..." writes Yu.Butov from Leningrad.)

"They Forgot the Trifle" by S.Vlasov, in No.40. ("...Advise us please what we can do to help save the museums of our great, wonderful writers K.Chukovskiy and B.Pasternak; you can rely on us..." write Anya Beshpalova and Ira Chugunova, both 17, from Moscow.)

But the largest number of letters come in response to our by now traditional selection of readers' letters, "The Word to the Reader." Nothing in the new OGONEK makes us more proud than your letters, those amazingly sincere, honest, acute, cute, angry, intelligent missives. I am not writing this to be cute, or to express the traditional banal indifferent respectable attitude of the editors to readers' opinions. On the contrary, without these letters of yours, without readers' support, it would have been very hard for us to make OGONEK, and perhaps even impossible.

The letters that come now to the magazine are a kind of a cast taken from our times, from the nation's problems. Until very recently, our mail consisted mainly of complaints, descriptions of various squabbles, quarrels and bickering, anonymous denunciations against the boss, etc. Now, the number of such letters have fallen sharply. I don't think that the apartment situation has become splendid or that the bosses have improved. The reason is different. It is just that people want substantive changes, not small ones. They want to hold their heads high, they don't want to look over their shoulders, to lie or to fear — never, nowhere.

And another sign of the times: we now especially acutely feel that our readers are always behind us, that they are in a same strong, unbreakable chain with the magazine.

As soon as the journal MOLODAYA GVARDIYA came out with an unsettling, nerve-wrecking article attacking several publications, including OGONEK, our readers unleashed a true storm of letters and cables in support of OGONEK's position. It seems that the ink had not been dry on the issue of Belorussian magazine POLITICHESKIY SOBESEDNIK — which attached labels and threw in together in the same pile A.Rybakov's novel "Children of the Arbat," a review on it, Mark Chagal's work, a wonderful production of M.Shatrov's play "The Dictatorship of Conscience" put on by the kids from Minsk Public School No.93 and, naturally, OGONEK — before we started getting letters from Minsk, Belgorod, Vitebsk, Gomel, Bobruysk, and even from the village of Belynkovich, in short, from all over Belorussia. The issue was enclosed, and they asked us to print an appropriate reply to that unusual article. We were simply overwhelmed by copies of POLITICHESKIY SOBESEDNIK, we didn't know what to do with them...

And now we don't know where to hide from the clippings from the Dnepropetrovsk newspaper ZORYA's October 4 issue, of an article by Editor-in-Chief G.Bureyko. Readers from the Ukraine are sending them to us in great quantities and write angry, sarcastic, bemused and indignant letters. (One of them is published in today's selection.) But, as I see in today's mail, ZORYA's editor-in-chief found a single editorial insufficient, and three weeks later has decided to elaborate on his position in an editorial postscript to readers' responses to his original piece. To be frank, nothing in his views has changed and the truth that today speaks loud and clear

from OGONEK's pages, among others, still elicits deep nostalgia and unconcealed irritation from Dnepropetrovsk editors. Your indignation and your sarcasm, dear readers, are fully shared by us...

But in general, whenever we read your letters, we have a great sensation that you are with us, that we are among friends, among like-minded people. We constantly feel the support of people who are strangers to us but who are somehow close and intimate in spirit. I thank you for this. And I also thank you for your best wishes for the anniversary of the October Revolution and for your numerous letters. "We have the same starting point: the understanding of the wonderful fact that it is the October's cause and its high-minded ideals that unite us," writes A.Krutov from Novosibirsk.

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### Limitations of Bulgakov's Revival Discussed

18000155c Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 44, Oct 87  
pp 22-24

[Article by Benedikt Sarnov under the rubric "Polemic notes"]

[Text]In Mayakovskiy's comedy "Bedbug", the man of the future and professor, the resurrected Prisyppkin, from time to time consults a "Dictionary of Obsolete Words." This comedy was written in 1928. Prisyppkin is resurrected 50 years after his untimely death. Thus, the action must be taking place in 1978. What words in use during Mayakovskiy's lifetime did he think would be obsolete by 1978?

### 1

Let's take as our example the letter "B": "Bureaucratism, God-seeking, bublik rolls, Bohemianism, Bulgakov..."

It appears that not a single one of these has disappeared completely. Bublik rolls, of course, have become a rarity, but here and there you can still find them. And even the word "God-seeking," is evidently not ready to be buried yet. And, of course, there's no use even talking about "bureaucratism." Here, Vladimir Vladimirovich made a big mistake. This little word (like the concept it signifies) has shown remarkable vitality.

But it is the word "Bulgakov" which has had the most surprising and most unpredictable fate.

Of course, Mayakovskiy was joking when he put Mikhail Afanasyevich's surname in his "Dictionary of Obsolete Words." This was a polemic outburst, in the heat of literary battle. Bulgakov was not Mayakovsky's favorite person, to put it mildly. And this was not only because at that time he was considered by many to be the laureate

of the White Guard. The members of the Left Artistic Front hated the Moscow Art Theater with its "Uncle Vanya's" and "Auntie Anya's" (one of Mayakovsky's favorite jokes).

Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that, having allowed himself to make this malicious joke, Mayakovsky never dreamed that 50 years later, in 1978, of all the words he had put in his "Dictionary of Obsolete Words," the word "Bulgakov" would show the most life.

By that time, Mikhail Bulgakov had become one of the most famous Russian writers. Not only here, but throughout the world.

But even this is not the most striking thing.

The most striking, and I would even say, the most wonderful thing about Bulgakov's posthumous fate is that he owed his return from the dead, his international fame, to himself alone.

Of course, I remember that Veniamin Kaverin, at the Second Writers' Congress, was the first to name his name and call for his books to be returned to the reader. I know how much his widow, Yelena Sergeyevna Bulgakova, did for his posthumous fame. I have not forgotten how tenacious and insistent was Konstantin Simonov, the former chairman of the Commission on Bulgakov's literary legacy, in demanding a place for the writer. I gratefully remember those who made it possible to publish "A Theatrical Novel" and "The Master and Margarita."

And yet, what did happen could not help but happen. That Bulgakov's name began to mean so much to us during these years was not due to someone else's benevolent intervention, but due to the fact his time had come. Bulgakov himself earned all his current fame and recognition, his readers' love.

And here I begin to sense ironic rejoinders: "What a stupendous discovery! Of course, he earned it himself... Is it ever otherwise?"

Yes, it can happen otherwise.

Of course, you cannot earn your readers' love through someone else's efforts. But as for recognition, success, and publication these are another matter.

2

There was a major editorial conference in one of our largest publishing houses. The long-term plan was being discussed. Proposals were put forth as to which writers (as a rule, dead) would have their collected works published.

A representative of the book selling industry stood up and, on the basis of purely commercial considerations, proposed to exclude certain "positions" (as he termed them) from the plan.

Immediately, indignant voices were raised: "What a mercenary approach! We must not be ruled by commercial considerations... We can't forget about the ideological aspect! Our duty, our sacred obligation is to educate our young people, to temper them ideologically!..

The representative of the book sellers, awaited the end of this storm, and then asked, "Pardon me, but how exactly will these writers educate our young people?"

"What a strange question!" exclaimed his opponents with surprise. "Why through their books, of course."

"Yes, yes, I know," nodded the representative of the book selling industry, "but, nevertheless, I would like you to tell me exactly how you imagine this will take place."

"What do you mean how?" the adherents of ideological education grew even more surprised. "The young people will read these books."

"But that's just the problem," sighed the representative of the book selling industry, "these are just the books they don't want to read."

There were many, of course, who were undismayed by this simple consideration. And after all this was certainly neither the first nor the last time when concern with outward appearances has triumphed over common sense.

Another instance, just as anecdotal, but also a true story and one which, in its own way, is no less significant, occurred in a book store.

A single volume collection of Bulgakov was to be published, the very one where "The Master and Margarita" was first presented in full, without cuts and omissions. It became known that this book was going on sale the next day. When I arrived, approximately an hour before the store opened, I saw that the line of those thirsting to obtain this magic tome was already a block long. It was immediately clear to me that I would not get my hands on a Bulgakov. And this was indeed the case: right under my nose the saleswoman yelled to the cashier, "Don't issue any more receipts for Bulgakov!" The last copy was bought by an acquaintance of mine standing in front of me. But suddenly a second commotion arose. Without having time to figure out what happened, I noticed only that my acquaintance, the fortunate possessor of the last copy, had turned as white as a sheet. He was so upset he started to stammer. It turned out that his book, the one he had already paid for and for which he had obtained a receipt, had been given to another man who had arrived with a note from some important personage.

Well, that was, of course, an outrage! A terrible, flagrant injustice! However, I never would have dreamed of mentioning it here, if it hadn't been for one very remarkable fact.

The important personage, the one sending the note, turned out to be the director of the publishing house. In other words, he was the person directly responsible for deciding whether this Bulgakov would be published, and for determining the size of the edition.

After all, couldn't he, by striking a couple of dozen "dead souls" from the plan, have increased the size of the edition allocated to Bulgakov by a factor of ten or twenty?

Undoubtedly, he could have. But why? After all he very well knew that he himself would not be deprived of a Bulgakov, no matter what happened. And as for the readers... There would never be enough copies for all those who wanted them. There's a problem with paper. And, in the final analysis, as everyone knows, the trolley isn't made of rubber, [i.e., it can only stretch so far.].

This excuse seems not unlikely, but, just between us, it's rather naive.

The crux of the matter is that this same director, even if he had wanted to, nonetheless, could not have performed such a seemingly simple and natural act as striking a dozen or so "dead souls" from the plan.

Not long ago we heard that during the last 20 years the books of certain contemporary writers were published in editions numbering in the millions. The number of editions published during this period reached 8 million for one of these authors, 6 for another, and 5 million copies for a third.

During this same period, Bulgakov's books were published in editions a great deal more modest in size. At the very most, the total number of copies over the course of 20 years could not have exceeded 100 thousand.

Couldn't it be true that the public demand for Bulgakov's books was less than for the books of Yu. Bondarev, for example?

But Bondarev himself is demanding that justice be done to Bulgakov and an academic collection of his works be published at last. In an open letter, which he published along with Doctor of Fine Arts, Igor Belzyy, and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Oleg Trubachev, (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 16 September, 1987), he says:

"M.A. Bulgakov has left the people an enormous, wonderful legacy... We all owe him a great debt... Although works by M.A. Bulgakov, have been published a number

of times in this country, these can in no way fully encompass the creative legacy of this writer, nor give an adequate understanding of the his inner depths as a major artist...

Discussions of such an academic edition of M.A. Bulgakov's collected works have long been with us, and it is difficult to understand why the publishing houses have still not gotten around to it."

In actuality, this is not so difficult to understand. ("What do you know, the binomial theorem!" Bulgakov's Korov'yev would say in a situation like this.)

No, it is not at all difficult to understand why the collected works of Alim Keshokov, Anatoliy Sofronov, Georgiy Mdivani, Nikolay Dorizo, and many others, including Yuriy Bondarev himself, have long been published in enormous editions, while the collected works (even a non-academic edition) of Bulgakov is still just the subject of everlasting discussion....

3

Rumor ascribes a significant rejoinder to one our former "literary arbiters." "A writer without power," he is purported to have said, "is worth nothing!" This rejoinder eloquently expresses "patronage" thinking. And indeed the right to a single volume edition (not to mention a collected works) in our country frequently belongs not to the writer whose books readers are clamoring for, but to the one whose name has been entered on some list. (Sometimes, these two categories coincide. Then the reader is in luck. But, unfortunately, such coincidences are far from the rule.)

One writer simply must be published because this year is his anniversary; a second because he has won a prize; a third because he has just been elected secretary or member of the government...

Perhaps, this patronage thinking nowhere attains more malevolent, pernicious force than in literature and art.

A person may be an energetic, active, and even gifted administrator without having any artistic talent. But, having been elected to a supervisory position of any importance at all in the Writers' Union or somewhere else, such a person is more than likely to lay claim to being not simply a writer, but, without fail, a major, outstanding writer, in Mayakovskiy's words, the pen of Ursa Major.

Having no data to support this claim, to prove how necessary, how essential he is, as a rule, he selects the role of the zealous guardian of ideological purity and infallibility.

How many such guardians have I seen in my lifetime! How everyone trembled before them, how people shook, how they stammered! And who today can remember their names?

Members of the older generation, reading "The Master and Margarita," tried to guess who the author was portraying in the character of Berlioz. Could it be Averbakh? And the critic Latunskiy, who is he supposed to be? Most likely, Litovskiy. After all, you will recall that both of these took their turn at persecuting Bulgakov..

Who expelled Pasternak? Who persecuted Zoshchenko and Akhmatova? We remember (recollect) only those who broke the rules, those who had no business getting involved in such things, but couldn't resist and gave in out of weakness. But those who were supposed to be occupied with such matters because of their official positions, their names are not remembered, we cannot recall them if we try.

And yet those who were "castigated" by these guardians, who were tormented, and crucified in various "ideological" campaigns have remained a part of literature. Their books continue to live, to be read, and to carry on their good work. As the classics said, the rational, the good, and the eternal...

Of course, invertebrate castigators are not the only ones who end up as so-called literary arbiters. Even a genuine writer granted the right to castigate and prohibit, begins at times to think and act like a bureaucrat.

Patronage thinking is so infectious and so pernicious that even a genuine major artist may fall under its sway.

At the beginning of the 50s, while Stalin was still alive, Vasiliy Grossman finished his long novel about Stalingrad, subsequently published under the title "For a Just Cause." The author submitted this work to NOVYY MIR, the editor of which was at that time A.T. Tvardovskiy. Tvardovskiy liked the novel a great deal and decided to publish it, knowing full well that this would lead to serious problems. And wishing to enlist authoritative support, he sent the novel to one of our greatest prose writers of that time, who was an advisory member of the editorial board. The reply arrived rapidly. It was very short: "You've lost your mind! How could you have assigned him to write about Stalingrad?"

When the author of this rejoinder was young and unknown, no one ever dreamed of asking him who had assigned him to write about the revolution and civil war.

Of course no one had given him this assignment. He was simply full to overflowing with what he had seen, what he had felt and experienced; he could not help but try to express all this — to embody it in words. And having expressed it, he found the name which with time became so sonorous that it ceased to be his own personal

property and became the property of the people and the state. In the eyes of many people this led to a situation where his name became the very epitome of the patronage system. And this brought him to the point where he himself became infected with patronage thinking, which is so completely inimical to the very essence of artistic creation.

This very brief, but eloquent utterance ("How could you have assigned him..") expresses, exhaustively and with extreme clarity, the subconscious belief in the need for the elemental and uncontrollable processes of artistic creation to be subordinated to some kind of centralized management.

4

It is well known that the principle of centralized management itself has been found to have many shortcomings even when applied to the economy. In the course of discussion of restructuring of economic management, it was noted more than once that the reason for the inefficiency of our economy was the dictation of the producer over the consumer. Production is not subordinate to the needs of the consumer and the latter has no choice but to take what is offered him. And this inexorably leads to production of unnecessary and low quality products.

This formulation can with complete justification be extrapolated to the sphere of creative production — art and literature. The consumer in our book market also has to take what is offered him.

At the moment, things have changed, at least in our journals: the next issue of ZNAMYA or NOVYY MIR comes out and sometimes you want to read it straight through from cover to cover. But in the old days, if you found one interesting piece in an entire issue you were overjoyed. And by interesting I don't mean anything extraordinary, but merely something designed for the reader.

Yes, and things have changed in the newspapers as well. But nevertheless far fewer books are being published for readers than for the sake of outward appearances.

An alternative to centralized management of the economy, as we all know is cost accounting, self-financing, enterprises which pay for themselves. And a writer, after all, is, in essence, an independent enterprise. "I feel myself to be a Soviet factory," said Mayakovskiy.

Thus, isn't it time for writers to become independent enterprises that pay for themselves?

Let the readers determine the number of editions of their future books which will be published, as an alternative to the present system, in which this is determined by the cumbersome machinery of the book selling industry. And let's have the mechanism be direct and straight

forward: rather than determining the size of an edition in advance, let them first publish a test edition and, if all the books are sold, let them print more.

And the writer should receive royalties not for the entire edition which was printed and may be lying somewhere in a warehouse, but instead should be given a certain percentage for each copy sold. If a book lies around on the shelf, if readers don't want to buy it, let the writer suffer, not only spiritually, but financially as well.

Many will consider the intrusion of financial, commercial incentives into the creative sphere to be base, unworthy, and even harmful — amounting to a virtual abandonment of the main goals of all artistic creation. Sergey Bondarchuk recently expressed himself very frankly on this point (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 28 July 1987). To a question about what disturbed him most in today's cinematography, he answered as follows: "The process of latent embourgeoisement, commercialization of our cinematography, which carries the threat of pop- and mass culture and erodes the social and spiritual values which are the substance and meaning of our Soviet way of life... In my opinion, we must do everything possible to fight this commercialization."

And in my opinion, we must, on the contrary, do everything possible to encourage this "commercialization."

I understand very well that the introduction of direct links between the producer (writer) and consumer (reader) in no way guarantees the triumph of future unknown Shakespeares and Dostoevskiys. It is even true that, under such a system, V. Piknul would undoubtedly gain the advantage over Faulkner and Andrey Platonov. But this really would not be such a great evil. In any event, it would still represent the triumph of reality over fiction, over the dead souls clogging up our literary marketplace. If the reader wants to pay money (and, as we know, significant amounts of money) for the books of V. Piknul, let him do so!

When Sergey Prokofyev returned to the USSR (this was in 1932), our universal musical idol in this country was Dunayevskiy, and one of Prokofyev's admirers said to him, "How terrible it is, Sergey Sergeyevich, that Dunayevskiy has such a grandiose, incomparable reputation, and you are known, in essence, to only a narrow circle of connoisseurs."

"It's only natural," shrugged Prokofyev. "How could it be any different? After all we are in two different professions."

And this is true of V. Piknul as well: he and Andrey Platonov or Vasilii Grossman are in two different professions.

5

When I say that it would be a good thing if writers were to become self-supporting enterprises, I mean not only materially and financially, but also, if I may express myself thus, morally self-supporting.

When you and I acquire some sort of object, as a rule, we couldn't care less who made it — who, so to speak, was its author. But when we buy a book we never fail to look at the name of the author on the dust jacket. But, unfortunately, you have to admit that this custom (writing the author's name on a book's dust jacket as if he were its sole creator) is a sheer atavism.

Today, for the time being, the author still has power over his brain child. But this power is gradually becoming increasingly relative and even illusory.

The theater begins with the cloak room, as Stanislavskiy said. And a book begins with its title. Doesn't it seem as if giving a book a title that he himself has devised would be the most obvious, the most unquestionable, the most indisputable of all an author's rights?

In practice, unfortunately, things frequently work out very differently.

Aleksandr Bek wanted to call his last novel "Collision." He emphasized this in his journal, "After all sorts of doubts, I have named my brainchild 'Interference.'" It is a cumbersome, unpleasant sounding word. However, it attracts me by its accuracy. Collision is a scientific, medical term, introduced by I.P. Pavlov. And, in addition, there is the primary meaning of the term — skirmish, smash, battle, engagement..."

As we can see, the author did not get the title for his novel, as they say, out of his ear. He thought long and hard over it, suffered over it, considered one alternative after another. Perhaps, he woke up once in the middle of the night, and rejoiced that the name had finally come to him. But the editorial board renamed the novel "New Purpose." Under this title, which was not author's, but the editors', the novel was published in our day.

Something similar happened with Vasilii Grossman's novel "Stalingrad" which was published under the title "For a Just Cause." (Perhaps, the famous, "How could you have assigned him to write about Stalingrad?" also played a role here) Bulgakov's "Dead Man's Diary" was renamed "Theatrical Novel" by its editors. Fasil Iskander's "School Waltz, or the Energy of Shame," which was published recently, was renamed "Old House Under A Cypress."

But in the final analysis, let them mess around with these titles! What do they matter as long as they leave the text alone?! But they don't leave it alone, they do what they like with it!

From this point of view it is interesting to compare any page of a complete text of Bulgakov's novel "The Master and Margarita" with its first published version in the journal MOSKVA.

In the book we read, "Was it you who informed on this fellow, claiming that he had illegal literature in his possession, after you read Latunskiy's article on his novel?" asked Azazello."

In the journal, the same passage looked like this: "— Was it you who filed a complaint about this man after you read Latunskiy's article on his novel?" asked Azazello."

The editor's train of thought here is more than clear. The word "complaint" sounds a great deal more respectable than "inform" — to say nothing of the mention of "illegal literature..." What exactly is the author hinting at here?... No, everything is very clear in this matter. Here we see the editor's political antennae at work. But it would be interesting to know what impelled the editor to expunge from the journal's version, for example, such a politically innocent paragraph as, "Margarita, without ceasing to smile and mark time with her right hand, dug the sharp nails of the left into Begemotovo's ear and whispered to him, 'If you, you pig, ever again dare to get mixed up in a conversation...'"

Most probably, the chaste editor was offended by the word "pig." This, after all, is the heroine — an intellectual woman, how can she use such word... But, on the other hand, the devil only knows! An editor's train of thought is mysterious and unpredictable.

Comparative analysis of the book and journal versions of "The Master and Margarita" could serve as the topic of a very interesting piece of research — not so much a study in literary criticism, as in psychology.

But Bulgakov is still a case unto himself. Furthermore, the novel was published many years after the death of the author. And here is an interesting question — what if the author had been alive? Would the editor really have permitted himself to trespass so unceremoniously in his text and correct it so shamelessly to suit his own tastes?

In order to answer this far from rhetorical question, I will cite a passage from a letter from K. Simonov to the editor-in-chief of OGONEK on 21 October 1946 (Published in the journal V MIRE KNIG [In the World of Books] No 3, 1987).

A small collection of Simonov's lyric poetry was to be published as part of OGONEK's "Library" series. It would not be superfluous to note that K. Simonov and the editor were close friends from fighting together at the front. This latter circumstance, however, didn't prevent... But I am getting ahead of myself. The letter itself says it much more eloquently.

"I am very distressed at the long litany of notes about my poems. I disagree with almost all of them — both in substance and in principle... For six editions, I tied my legs in knots under the table and now in the seventh I'm not permitted to tie them. Why?

"For four editions it was 'Russia, motherland, anguish...' This is the way I want it. Why then, in the fifth edition, should I take out "anguish" and put in "broad" or "narrow."

"As for Amundsen, I read him [i.e., the poem about him] carefully and I completely fail to understand why I have to take him out. I absolutely don't understand. I don't want to argue, but I also don't want to rename Amundsen "Sedov" so as not to appear to grovel before the West. The old fellow's name happened to be foreign, nothing can be done about it..."

Citing many other examples from the same "litany," Simonov concludes by saying that he will not agree to any corrections at all, strongly preferring that a given poem be left unpublished, rather than having it be published in distorted form. "It would be easier for me to remove even my favorite poem," he writes, "rather than to write, as I already mentioned, 'narrow' instead of 'anguish.'"

Of course, it should be noted that this was in the deep dark past of 1946! This was virtually our literature's most difficult period.

But here is a short excerpt from the same published selection of K. Simonov's letters to the deputy editor-in-chief of the Children's Literature publishing company, a letter written not quite so long ago.

"I want to tell you, in all friendliness, that I am fed up with having painful discussions with publishing houses, editors, and directors of film studios — painful to me and, in the majority of cases, to them — on the subject of corrections and revisions in what I have written.. An author must answer for what he writes.."

This letter is dated 26 July 1968. At that time, Konstantin Simonov was already fairly invulnerable because of his reputation, fame, and authority. But even he was forced to engage in these endless, painful (oral and written) discussions concerning corrections, revisions, and the like.

And now imagine how the editorial board treats young, unknown, beginning writers. Above their manuscripts, as the old epigram says "they perform a double blasphemous rite: first they make the sign of the cross like orthodox Christians and then they circumcise them like Jews."

"The author must answer for what he has written..." This natural and essentially elementary requirement, even today seems sheer Utopia.

An author cannot answer for what he himself writes, simply because there is a whole hierarchy of levels above him who answer for him. And every one tries to contribute its own mite to the writer's work: some in the form of advice and suggestions, others in the form of categorical, peremptory conditions, demands, and prohibitions.

At one time, Viktor Shklovskiy with sad humor answered the question of why our cinema has never made a real, carefree, funny comedy, "Because they have not yet found a genius who was able to make 26 hierarchical levels laugh."

Evgeniy Vinokurov touched on the same theme (as applied to poetry, and not cinematography) in another way in one of his poems:

The criticisms of the editorial board  
Resemble artillery shells;  
No two bullets ever strike the same spot.  
At times the manuscript looks like a target  
Some company has been using for firing practice.

This practice of sanctioned interference in creativity was established long ago. But the fact that the number of levels never stops growing complicates matters. Thus, for example, Goskomizdat was established 20 years ago. At first, it was supposed that this department would concern itself solely with coordination, so that, God forbid, two different publishing houses did not end up publishing the same book by the same author at the same time. This was a relatively modest mission. But the nature of every bureaucratic department is such that as soon as it is born it starts to grow and swell (in all the connotation of this word). The staff swells, the rights grow, edicts and letters of instruction fly all over the place, couriers rush to and fro, 30, 50, 100 thousand couriers... Gradually, things reached such a pass that a publishing house could not say boo without Goskomizdat's permission. Goskomizdat approves plans, yanks individual manuscripts out of the proposed lists, and sends them for supplementary review to their secret reviewers! (And they really are secret! If an author is even permitted to read a review, he is given a copy with the corner ripped or torn off; God forbid he be allowed to see the name of the reviewer.)

Nowadays, as we all know, measures are being taken to reorganize ministries and departments. The goal is to change the role and the functions of these institutions to accord with the new management conditions defined by the Law on State Enterprises (associations).

When I read the announcement of this, I rejoiced, "It has finally happened," I thought! But even if my joy was not completely unjustified (which, to tell the truth, I very much doubt), even if Goskomizdat is restrained slightly, or even, completely eliminated, the situation will, nevertheless, still be bad; because even without Goskomizdat, there are enough other meddlesome hierarchical levels.

6

When the Master, the hero of Bulgakov's novel, meets Ivanushka Bezdomnyy, and finds out that his new acquaintance is a poet, he becomes terribly upset.

"Och, what bad luck I always have!" he exclaimed.

"But what's the matter, do you dislike my poems?" asked Ivan curiously.

"I dislike them terribly."

"Which ones have you read?"

"None of them, I've never read your poems!" his visitor exclaimed nervously.

"Well, how can you say what you did?"

"Why shouldn't I?" answered his guest, "You'd think I'd never read any others. Am I supposed to believe in miracles?"

Even the wretched and disillusioned Master acknowledges the possibility of a miracle. And a miracle is indeed possible. The fate of Bulgakov himself demonstrates this.

Here, however, it would not hurt to state one bitter reservation.

We have been accustomed to rejoice at the miraculous return of Bulgakov to his readers, to be delighted by this triumph of justice, to be touched that the prophecy made by the author of "The Master and Margarita" with regard to his own fate has come true. "My manuscripts," he said, will not burn... "But in rejoicing, we forget that books, like people, are mortal. Each one has its allotted lifetime. And even those books which are fated to have a long, an incredibly long life, even those are not eternal. Thus, no matter how long a life "The Master and Margarita" is fated to have, 30 years have been stolen from the lifetime of the book.

Yet, nevertheless, no matter what, Bulgakov's sudden resurrection from non-existence and his unheard of triumph are truly miraculous, reminiscent of the remarkable case described by V. Soloukhin, in which, in Manezhnyaya Square in Moscow, a field mushroom was found growing up through the asphalt.

But the miracle of Bulgakov is only an illustration of a general law. In some sense, his case is not an exception to the rule but the rule itself. In essence, after all, every true writer wins his own readers himself, without help from anyone. Every true artist by himself, through his own efforts, his own talent, breaks through the asphalt of indifference, suspicion, official interdictions, and in one way or another breaks through to the people. This was the case with Yuriy Trifonov and Fasil Iskander, with

Boris Slutskiy and David Samoylov, Aleksandr Vampirov and Aleksandr Volovin, Vladimir Vysotskiy and Bulat Okudzhava, to give the first names that enter my head. But every reader will have no difficulty completing this list.

A true writer must himself break through to the reader. And his road is always difficult. After all, it is not such an easy matter for a seed to grow, put out shoots and runners... The soil may turn out to be infertile. And the weather does not always favor normal growth. And weeds may choke it. Problems are inevitable. But these are all natural problems.

And then there's the asphalt...

Can it really be true that this too is inevitable — that we must break through asphalt to reach life?

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### Yevtushenko's Poem on Stalin Elicits Strong Reactions

#### Yevtushenko's "Heirs of Stalin" Printed

18000120a Moscow NEDEL'YA in Russian No 45,  
9-14 Nov 87 p 5

[Poem by Yevgeniy Yevtushenko published under the rubric "Poetry Podium"]

[Text] NEDEL'YA has already printed a number of literary works which were first published in the 1950's-1960's and subsequently disappeared from literary circulation: the stories of Aleksandr Yashin, Yuriy Nagibin, Daniil Granin, and Oles Gonchar.

The poem being presented here was first published by Yevgeniy Yevtushenko in 1962, but it did not appear either in the author's collections or in his collected works. We publish it in the author's new edition.

#### The Heirs of Stalin

The marble was silent.  
The glass twinkled silently.  
The guard stood silent,  
showing bronze in the wind.  
And the coffin smoked slightly.  
Breath flowed from the coffin  
when it was carried out  
of the doors of the Mausoleum.  
The coffin floated slowly,  
its edges brushing against the bayonets.  
It was also silent—  
also!—  
but menacingly silent.

Gloomily clenching  
his embalmed fists,  
the person inside, pretending to be dead,  
pressed his eyes against a crack.  
He wanted to fix in memory all those  
who were carrying him out—  
fresh new recruits  
from Ryazan and Kursk—  
to somehow later  
gather the strength for a raid,  
and rise from the earth  
and get to them,  
the unknowing ones.

He had decided on something.  
He had only lain down to rest.  
And I call on our government  
and ask  
that the guard on this grave  
be doubled,  
tripled,  
so Stalin does not rise up,  
and with Stalin—  
the past.

We put in the crop honestly.  
We honestly produced the metal.  
And we marched honestly,  
in military formation.  
But he was afraid of us.  
He, believing in the great goal, did not consider  
that the means  
must be worthy  
of the majesty of the goal.  
He was far-sighted.  
Wise in the laws of struggle,  
he left many heirs  
on the earth.

I imagine  
there is a phone in his coffin:  
Stalin is again  
giving his orders to someone.  
Where else will the line from that grave reach!  
No, Stalin did not die.  
He considers death a correctable thing.  
We took him out of the Mausoleum.  
But how can we take Stalin out of  
the heirs of Stalin?!

Some of his heirs in retirement prune roses,  
but secretly they think  
that this retirement is temporary.  
Others  
even curse Stalin from podiums,  
but themselves  
at night  
long for the old days.  
It appears to be no accident that infarctions are  
now  
taking the heirs of Stalin.

They, who were once the bulwark,  
do not like a time  
when the camps are empty  
and the halls where people listen to poetry are  
overflowing.

My Homeland  
has bid me  
not to be still.  
Let them say to me,  
"Be still!"  
I shall be unable  
to be still.  
As long as the heirs of Stalin are still alive on  
earth,  
it will seem to me that Stalin is still in the  
Mausoleum.

1962-1987

**Poem Defended Against Attacks**

18000120b Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 50,  
14-20 Dec 87 p 11

[Commentary on letters concerning the poem under the  
rubric "Dialog with the Reader"]

[Text] No 45 of NEDELYA published a new version of  
Yevgeniy Yevtushenko's poem "The Heirs of Stalin,"  
which was written in 1962. The poem drew a great deal  
of mail, and today the writer Vyacheslav Kondratyev, a  
veteran of the front and author of the novellas "Sashka"  
and "Meetings in Sretenka" and the plays "Sick-Leave"  
and "Road to Borodukhino," comments on these letters.

I am not going to review and quote those letters where  
the readers welcome the publication, because their posi-  
tion is clear and understandable to me. But it appears  
that we must speak of the other letters, ones which are  
indignant, cutting to the point of rudeness, and indig-  
nant. Almost all of those letters were written by people of  
my generation, born in the 1920's. Almost all of them  
took part in the war, and they all interpret the title "The  
Heirs of Stalin" wrongly. For some reason these people,  
who fought in the war and labored and restored the  
country after the war, think that Yevtushenko is talking  
to them.

Here is an excerpt from the letter of A. P. Mesnyankina:

"But you, Comrade Yevtushenko, for some reason trans-  
fer all your malice to the hairs of Stalin, who simply  
knew nothing, but labored and waged war, starved and  
froze undressed and bloated, yet fought against all ills  
without sparing themselves."

That is what all the letters say! They take "The Heirs of  
Stalin" personally. But after all, was Yevtushenko talk-  
ing about the entire generation who lived in the Stalinist  
age? Only one reader, M. Berezhnoy from Kharkov,  
asked the question:

"Who does the author have in mind? Those who created  
the lawlessness, or those who lived under Stalin? After  
all, the Beriya gang, who created the lawlessness and  
caprice with Stalin's blessing, is one thing; those who  
worked, managed their assigned sections and sectors,  
men such as Kosygin, Ustinov, Malyshev, Tevosyan, and  
Likhachev, like Zhukov, Vasilyevskiy, and other out-  
standing military leaders, they are something else.  
Finally there are simple people like us, who were too  
young in those years to be fully aware of the evil that was  
being done."

Of course, we are not the subject, Comrade M. Berezh-  
noy! The poem was written in 1962. Our generation was  
still a long way from pension age and we could not  
"prune roses" (as Yevtushenko wrote), we were laboring  
hard then.

Here are more lines from the letter from I.N. Lastochkin,  
who is indignant:

"The question is why you slander us and why we  
displease you because we were born before October and  
after, and as a result were active participants in the  
industrialization of the country and collectivization, the  
Great Patriotic War, and the restoration of the econo-  
my."

Again there is that same misunderstanding and again  
this reader takes the title of the appeal of Ye. Yev-  
tushenko's poem to mean himself and his generation.

Well, dear readers, we must figure out the poem. I know  
Ye. Yevtushenko's attitude toward participants in the  
war, he saw the trains going west, he saw the medical  
trains going east, and he saw the suffering of the people  
in those years with a child's eyes, and it is not of you  
veterans that he speaks when he refers to the "heirs of  
Stalin." It is not you who are his heirs. It is other people  
who are the heirs, and there were many of them in 1962,  
they had the strength and the opportunity to turn the  
country back and Yevtushenko gave warning! Unfortu-  
nately, that is what happened—the "heirs of Stalin"  
gradually turned the USSR back onto the administra-  
tive-bureaucratic track.

However, there is one letter from a veteran of war and  
labor M.V. Vasilyev where he writes directly:

"I consider myself an heir of I.V. Stalin. I served in the  
organs of the NKVD and the MGB from 1938 through  
May 1955—I guarded the State Border of the USSR."

Then the reader cites quotations from M.S. Gorbachev's  
report at the celebration dedicated to the  
70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, but  
does not quote the General Secretary's words on Stalin's  
"crimes grounded in abuses of power," that "the guilt of  
Stalin and his close circle before the party and the people  
for the mass repressions and lawlessness committed was  
enormous and inexcusable." By the way, many of the

letters cite M.S. Gorbachev's words but not one of them quotes those very words which I cited above about the crimes of the "leader." Don't they believe them? Don't they even believe the General Secretary? Or they don't want to believe because the word "crime" cancels out all the merit—the real and the imaginary merit.

I can respect loyalty to the person one lived his life with and I will hardly try to persuade these people, but let us look truth straight in the eye. Everyone now knows the losses of the army high command in the 1930's. Everyone now knows how many lives the "forced" collectivization took and the sacrifices and deprivations industrialization cost. In recognizing the need for all the transformations, we must still understand that the sacrifices were excessive and at times pointless.

But veterans of the war can recall why and how we fought in the first years of the war. Even after the Finnish campaign, when the advantage of automatic fire weapons was clear, by the start of the war we had a minimum number of automatic weapons; at the start of the war we were using our own model, the Mosin 1891/30 rifle, and in the first year of the war we barely saw planes of our own. You veterans certainly know all that. The lack of readiness for the war was astounding! That is why those 20 million of our peers and comrades-in-arms did not return home.

Yes, many of us shouted: "For the Homeland, for Stalin!" but by no means all of us, and this argument is certainly given in almost all the letters. Comrade Vasilyev even asserts that the "heirs of Stalin are the 5 million participants in the war who are in the reserve or retired, from the rank-and-file to the marshal."! But why dare to speak on behalf of millions?

Recently I received a letter from a former tankman, V. Potapenko. Here are a few lines from his letter:

"I think that the slogan "For the Homeland, for Stalin!," that is, the analogue to "For the Faith, the Tsar, and the Fatherland," came from some zealous political worker in prerevolutionary Russia. And all that remained was for Mekhlis to disseminate this "cause." I know of no case in the tank troops where people shouted "For Stalin" in battle or before battle. In the company where I was Komsomol organizer and then party organizer there was no such thing. Before battle people spoke at meetings and people were accepted into the party, but certainly at that time in their honest, sincere words no one mentioned Stalin. For every tank battle was the last one for most. Losses among tank soldiers were enormous! No one wanted to lie in the face of death."

And to quote further: "In 1985 I happened to be at a meeting of veterans of the 31st Tank Corps of the 1st Guards Tank Army. After visiting the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum, the corps veterans' Council decided to lay a wreath of flowers at Stalin's pedestal at the Kremlin

Wall. I protested and in writing informed the chairman of the Council that I was categorically against this measure, and I backed up my opinion."

So not all of the 5 million on whose behalf you decided to speak agree with you, Comrade Vasilyev.

The frontline poet Yu. Belash, who saw combat in the infantry and published two collections of poetry "The Deafened Infantry" and "Trench Land", recently showed me his poem "Stalin":

To be honest—  
in the trenches the last thing we thought of  
was Stalin.  
We recalled the Lord God more often.  
Stalin  
was in no way close to  
our soldiers' war,  
and to speak of him we simply  
did not find occasion.  
And if it had not been for the newspapers,  
to be honest, we would have forgotten  
this un-Russian  
name.

And I who served in the infantry in 1942 will say that only in the first attack when two of our tanks came out did the battalion's party organizer, who was leading the second company, shout "For the Homeland, for Stalin!" but the company itself went into this doomed attack in silence. And even the party organizer said to me later that the commissar threatened on the phone to shoot him if he did not inspire the company. Well, in the rest of the attacks no one shouted anything at all—we had no strength for shouting.

I understand that for our generation Stalin embodied both the Homeland and Soviet Power and socialism, but let us look at the past without rose-colored glasses and let us break through the shroud of the bewitching and deafening propaganda of the time—the newspapers, radio, and the formal verses singing praises to the "native one, the beloved one" and let us look at it as it was.

Even now I remember how a large peasant family was thrown out of their home in the 1930's. There were six children, grandfather, grandmother, and the man and his wife. I will not forget what a racket the kids raised. At that time I did not know what future awaited this family. But not long ago I published a piece in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and received a long confession-letter in which a female reader described the fate of the large peasant family into which she had been born. This is that fate: the two youngest children died of starvation on the train, the grandfather and grandmother died there too, 2 years later, after overexerting himself in the mine, the husband died and then the mother and another child. The rest ended up in a special children's home where

there were intolerable conditions—children of “enemies of the people” lived there. Now this woman is an invalid. “There is nothing good to remember,” she writes.

I will never forget the field of oats near Rzhev and the corpses of our soldiers undressed down to their underwear; only the ones nearer the Germans were not undressed—the “trophy detachments” did not reach them. I remember how our battalion, without any artillery and mortar fire, went on the attack, once, twice, three times. And in a month there was hardly anyone left in the brigade. That was in 1942 when after the Moscow offensive Stalin drove the weak, lifeless units on and on in the winter battles. And the military commanders reported to him that there was no ammunition, no mines, and no food.

I also remember the way to the Far East and back where all along the road were watch towers, watch towers, watch towers.

What about you, didn't you see this, didn't you know it, didn't all this take place before your eyes? And after that to proudly call yourselves “heirs of Stalin”! Incidentally, there are letters where readers say that their relatives were dispossessed as kulaks but, they say, Stalin was not to blame—it was the “peregibshchiki” [people who go too far].

It is difficult, most likely very difficult to change one's former self and to give up the “ideal” which Stalin was for many people. One lieutenant colonel said to me after 1956: “Dostoyevskiy has this line: ‘What kind of a staff-captain am I now if there is no God’; that's what it's like for me now. Who am I and what am I if Stalin no longer exists.” It is possible to understand everything, but I would like to see just a little bit of reflection, of doubt in your letters. No! Everything is clear! And the others who do not share their views are anti-Soviets and traitors whom Iosif Vissarionovich did not manage to destroy. This cannot be, esteemed veterans! And Ye. Yevtushenko, the poet-citizen, does not deserve your insults. Foul language is not an argument in a dispute. And as for those verses which certain authors sent in answer to Ye. Yevtushenko, it is best to leave them unmentioned.

Many letters say: “I fought for Stalin,” “the urchin Matrosov who fell in battle for Stalin,” and so on and so forth. Did we really just go and fight and die for the sake of one person? Excuse me, but I fought for the Homeland, for Soviet Power, and for Russia. I think that that was what most of the people fought for. Incidentally, even those hurt by Stalin—the children of those repressed, the children of those dispossessed as kulaks, and there were also quite a few of them—fought well too. And our fathers in World War I also fought like that for Russia, by the way, and shouted: “For the faith, the Tsar, and the Fatherland.”

For god's sake, do not consider yourselves and your generation the “heirs of Stalin” if you did not take part in his crimes but fought honestly and labored honestly your whole life. No one is taking away this honest life of yours, nor belittling the fact that you believed in the leader; come on, by the way, do not forget, wasn't it usually in the rear, during training exercises, and in reserve regiments that this was shouted, while in real battle, in the face of death and in infantry attacks something else, something primordial, the time-honored Russian “hurr-a-ah” burst forth, mixed with other Russian words. Is this not a myth like the appearance of the Supreme Commander among the soldiers in Stalingrad?

And yet... Many letters asked: why, for what reason are articles on Stalin appearing in the press again?

Dear comrades, do you think we know everything about Stalin? History will study this person for many more years. We must come to understand this figure of which some people say that he “did a great deal for socialism,” while others assert that he was a discredit to socialism. We must come to understand him and define our attitude. And history and literature and art will study Stalin.

But we must also comprehend what we know. Using his thesis on aggravating the class struggle as we move forward, a mistaken thesis as we now understand, Stalin managed to destroy a large part of the Leninist guard of Bolsheviks, the high command of the Red Army, and a very substantial part of the creative and scientific-technical intelligentsia, such writers as A. Veselyy, B. Pilnyak, I. Babel, and many others, and such scientists as N. Vavilov, now called a “scientific genius,” and such people as A. Tupolev and S. Korolev, who luckily did not die in camp and later did a great deal for the country. And how many less well-known engineers, technicians, and production managers whose names we do not know, but they are “legion,” did not return but vanished in Kolyma or Vorkuta. So the country was castrated intellectually and that hindered its development for decades and consequently resulted in stagnation in science and technology and in literature and art. All this is true! We must ponder it rather than brush it aside, as most of the authors of the letters defending Stalin do.

It is interesting that all these letters state their full acceptance and acknowledgement of restructuring and a desire to take part in it. But how can this be combined with the appeals in support of OGONEK reader Shmelev, who proposes that all these “Yevtushenko's, Rybakov's, Okudzhava's” be sent to Siberia” in the old way, the “good” custom of Stalinist times?

You all acknowledge that restructuring is democracy and glasnost and at the same time you brandish a truncheon over the heads of writers and poets you do not like, branding them with the labels “anti-Soviets” and even “traitors.” I recall, by the way, that both Rybakov and

Okudzhava fought just like you. Acceptance of restructuring is incompatible with thick-headed intolerance toward any opinion which is at odds with one's own.

This is what the lecturer from the "Znaniye" Society and retired officer V. Gushchin writes:

"... honestly, it is disgusting to read the writings of all those people who are 'ex'es,' 'injured,' 'victims,' 'restricted from publishing' and have now crawled out (?—author) onto the pages of journals and newspapers with their memoirs and facts and some kind of worthless intimacy (?—author), relishing and kindling the dramatization of the past in people's imaginations..."

Then T. Gushchin warns: "Does it not seem to you, dear comrades, that this glasnost fashion will pass (especially among people of culture) and, after comprehending what has been written, you will talk of the costs in literature? Well? I think that you publishers and writers are the ones above all who must understand very clearly and without sentiment (sic—author) and emotions, precisely, scientifically, and dialectically, the historical reality of the past and interpret our future theoretically, in a Leninist way."

I am not going to carp on the statement, although it is written in a rather confused manner for a lecturer with higher political education; but I cited such a long quotation from the letter merely to show how certain authors are convinced, without the slightest doubt, that they are entitled to utter "ultimate truths" and teach them to everyone.

I think that Lieutenant General D. Volkogonov will also "get it" from such a reader for his speech in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, "The Phenomenon of Stalin," which among other things expresses this idea:

"The past must not be evaluated from an arithmetical standpoint: what did Stalin have more of—merit or crimes? The very posing of this question is immoral, for no merit justifies inhumanity."

For me this idea is indisputable, especially since this "inhumanity" cost many thousands of honest, intelligent, and talented people loyal to the Homeland, the flower of the nation, one might say. It was precisely for that reason that Stalin did not like these people—they represented a threat to his power. And, as D. Volkogonov writes, in the organs of the NKVD alone "more than 20,000 honest people fell victim to this orgy of lawlessness."

I repeat: I am not writing all this to make the authors of the letters defending Stalin change their minds. I appeal to them to reflect on this. To analyze everything calmly and, most importantly, not to consider themselves the "heirs of Stalin." Ye. Yevtushenko did not write this poem about us. Not about us.

### Likhachev Gives Introduction to 'Dr Zhivago' Excerpt

18000184a Moscow OGONEK in Russian No  
50, 12-19 Dec 87 p 15

[Article by Academician D.S. Ligachev: "A Few Words About the Novel" Dr. Zhivago"]

[Text] The resemblance of some elements in "Dr. Zhivago" to the typical form of the novel constantly misdirects us onto well-trodden novelistic ruts, causing us to seek in the work what it does not possess and to explain what it does have in the traditional way; to look to it to provide a straightforward evaluation of events and a straightforward prosaic treatment of reality instead of a poetic one; to read condemnation into the descriptions of misfortunes — condemnation of that which gave rise to these misfortunes. And yet no one discusses and no one condemns natural phenomena, the rain, a thunder or snow storm, or the springtime forest bursting into life against the sky; no one ever tries to change the course of these natural phenomena. No one ever tries to give an ethical evaluation of these phenomena of nature; we cannot change their course through our own efforts, we cannot ward them off.

I am attempting here to explain my understanding of "Dr. Zhivago," and not in any way to impose it on my readers. The latter, as we see, would be contrary to the spirit of the work itself.

What we have here is the autobiography of B. Pasternak himself — but an autobiography in which there is striking absence of external facts corresponding to the author's actual life. And yet the author does seem to be writing of himself by writing of another. This is Pasternak's spiritual autobiography, which tends to mislead the inexperienced reader with its pull toward lyric poetry.

But why should Pasternak need "another" person to express himself or fictitious circumstances in which he played no part?

Man has been given a remarkable ability to project and transform but such projection and transformation is, at the same time, his ability to use another to express his own thoughts and feelings, and his attitudes to his surroundings. It is striking that when we comprehend a lyric work we very often also comprehend ourselves through it, identifying, to one degree or another, with the lyric hero. This could not have occurred if the poet had written about himself in documentary fashion, insisting on the factuality of everything he had said. Yuriy Andreyevich Zhivago is Pasternak's lyric hero, who remains lyric even in prose.

And there is one more extremely important point. When he talks of himself by speaking of "another" whose fate in life is different from his own and who is dead (and how remarkable is the description of Dr. Zhivago's death, with this chance and yet not chance passer-by walking imperturbably down the street and overtaking the trolley car where Zhivago is dying), Pasternak is avoiding any attempt to convince the reader of the rightness of his own thoughts and vacillations. Zhivago is completely neutral with respect to the reader and his convictions. But this would not have been the case if Pasternak had been speaking openly about himself. The thoughts of the author would make more demands of the reader. The reader would feel that he was being prevailed upon, persuaded, asked to share opinions — aren't these, after all, the views of the author! And yet, in essence, what is there to share? Zhivago has more vacillations and doubts, more lyric and poetic attitudes toward events (and I insist on the expression "poetic attitudes"), than final answers. These vacillations do not represent a weakness in Zhivago, but rather his intellectualism and moral strength. He has no will, if will is understood as the ability to refrain from vacillation, to adopt oversimplified solutions; but he does have the decisiveness of spirit not to surrender to seductive oversimplified and ill-considered solutions.

Will, to some degree, is a denial of the world. Zhivago and Pasternak accept the world, no matter how cruel it is at the given moment. After all there are no oversimplified solutions, therefore there can be no oversimplified view of oneself, and there can be no straightforward autobiography. Instead there must be a substitute hero in whom the reader can believe more than in the author, since there is no compulsion, no "denial of will," but instead the "openness of lack of will."

And here we must consider the difference between the novel's hero and the author. Of course, Pasternak himself is far from lacking in will, since creation requires enormous efforts of will. The creation of the image of an era is an enormous act of interference in life. Perhaps, Dr. Zhivago himself does not lack will in all senses of the term but only in one — in his sense of the enormity of the events occurring in spite of his will, which catch him up and cast him down all over the world. The image of the snowstorm is unrestrainable and all-permeating, so close to Pasternak and Blok in their depiction of the revolution.

The events of the revolution — are a kind of given, not subject to ordinary evaluation. Events cannot be avoided. You cannot interfere in them. Or, rather, you can interfere, but you cannot turn them aside. Yu.A. Zhivago's neutrality in the civil war is proclaimed by his profession; he is a military doctor — that is, an individual who is officially neutral by international convention.

Reality is reflected not in and of itself, but is filtered through personal impressions, which are always heightened. Revolutionary events appear to him in all their

naked complexity. They cannot be encompassed by the bare simplistic formulae of stock descriptions which sometimes are used by people who did not see and did not live through the events themselves. There may be contradictions in the emotional understanding of these events, but Pasternak is not attempting to explain them.

In "Safe-conduct Pass," B.L. Pasternak wrote about "Life, My Sister," "...I became completely indifferent to the name of the force producing the book because it was immeasurably greater than I and the poetic conceptions which surrounded me." Pasternak could repeat the same words with regard to the novel "Dr. Zhivago." This would testify to his great modesty and consciousness of his role as chronicler of events.

This novel never ceases to amaze me.

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**Reader Complains About Privileges of Elite**  
*18000184b Moscow OGONEK in Russian*  
*No 49, 5-12 Dec 87 p 2*

[Letter to OGONEK from P.A. Papanov and His Family]

[Text] As is well known, every year during the first week of October they hold a poetry day in the village of Konstaninovo, in the Ryazan region, to celebrate the birthday of Sergey Yesenin. We have attended this celebration almost every year and this year decided to bring our children along to visit Konstaninovo, walk along the high bank of the Oka river, and admire the boundless Oka meadows extolled by the poet. It was a Saturday, our son was given permission to leave school after his third class; we got into our car... And then, at a point more than 3 kilometers from Konstantinovo, we saw a GAI Post (which had been opened just for the occasion). An inspector informed us that we could proceed further only with a special pass or on a tourist bus. Scores of automobiles were stopped at the side of the road and crowds of dismayed poetry lovers were milling around.

The majority of those who were stopped trudged these 3 kilometers on foot, but my wife had a bit of luck. After hearing her stormy words of indignation, they stopped a bus and she and the children (my daughter is 4 years old) were given a seat inside. I myself had to wait for them at the side of the road and never got to the celebration. My fellow victims in the crowd were saying that a very important official indeed had deigned to attend the celebration. There was an entire bus full of police in the village and along the road; starting at the settlement of Rybnoye there were police at every crossroads. Police cars were everywhere. What were they for, for protection from us? But who was in need of protection?

And "Volgas" with special passes whizzed by us at great speeds (after all, the road was deserted). My family barely managed to get back. My wife and son took turns carrying the little girl.

It would be understandable if they had decided to preserve Konstantinovo from automobile exhaust and other harmful automotive products. But what about the limousines with passes, the majority with only one or two passengers — there were dozens and dozens of them. Is it possible that importance of position is a more valid reason than my small children and inability to obtain a pass. By the way where are those passes issued — in the State Automobile Inspectorate? At the Writers' Union? By the highway administration? And to whom are they issued?

In the name of all my fellow residents of Ryazan, and also of Moscow and Leningrad, and all the rest of those left standing at the side of the road.

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### Writer Describes Hierarchical Privileges of Cultural Elite

18000184c Moscow OGONEK in Russian  
No 49 5-12 Dec 87 p 25

[Article by Eldar Ryazanov: "The View From the Top Floor"]

[Text] In the autumn of 1972, Emil Braginskiy and I were working on the screenplay for the film "The Incredible Adventures of Italians in Russia." In order to get more work done we decided to go to Dubulta, where there is a House of Creativity, a kind of reservation for writers, on the shores of the Gulf of Riga. Braginskiy went to the Writers' Union to try to get me a travel pass. September on the Baltic is out of season so there were no problems with the pass. Our stay, as I remember, began on 1 September. But I had some matters to take care of and could not go until the seventh. It was annoying to lose a week, but there was nothing to be done! At any rate, to avoid a misunderstanding and let the administration of the house know that I was definitely going to arrive, I sent a telegram ahead of time. The telegram said: I will be delayed by a week and request that you see that that the room reserved for me is ready by the seventh. The telegram was very polite and ended with all kinds of assurances of my respect. But at that time I had no idea what kind of a place I was going to visit.

This nine story writers' house followed rather strange customs. In accordance with unwritten local laws the rooms in the house were assigned by floor on the basis of the position and rank of each writer. The process of assigning rooms according to floors occurred not in Moscow where they gave out the passes, but locally in the house itself, in accordance with the director's decision. It

should be noted that the rooms were completely equivalent. They were furnished with furniture of the same value. The windows had standard blinds of two or three colors. In a word, there was no practical difference among the rooms. But this was only to the uninitiated! The unwritten tradition, which was observed religiously, said that the greater his authority, the higher the room where a writer lived. But how could they measure which writers were better than others? What scales could they use to weigh talent? How could they unravel this tangled hierarchy? It turned out to be very simple; and talent had nothing to do with it. They judged writers here not by their books, but by their posts, awards, and rank. This way everything became clear. Thus, the 9th and 8th floors were reserved for Heroes of Socialist Labor, winners of the Lenin Prize, secretaries of the Union, and editors-in-chief of literary monthlies. Winners of State Prizes, members of the board of the Writers' Union or Litfund could lay claim to the 7th and 6th floors.

The 5th and 4th floors were inhabited by the middle level masses of writers. These fellows, too, sometimes were published, printed, had their pictures taken, and had their plays produced. Among them you could find influential literary critics, managing editors of publishing houses and departments of literary monthlies.

The 3rd floor, as a rule, was occupied by writers with no prestige and no power to confer any benefits to anything, with the possible exception of literature, and also guests, i.e., people who had ended up there by exchange of travel passes or by virtue of their own significance in other spheres of activity.

As for the writers living on the second floor, then it seems somehow indelicate even to mention them. If you were assigned to the second floor, that was virtually the same as saying that you were nobody.

There were no rooms for guests on the first floor, which was occupied with the vestibule, dining room, infirmary, and, of course, the director's office.

"It is not possible that such a ladder of prestige simply grew up out of nothing!" the suspicious reader will cry. "There must have been something behind it!"

I will try to explain how it happened that the concepts of prestige and floor coincided in this establishment. The house was situated on a narrow neck where the Lielup River comes closest to the Gulf of Riga. Thus, the windows on the upper floors looked out over a splendid view of the sea and the river at once. Since the house was surrounded by tall pines, the windows were blocked by the tops of the trees up to the seventh floor. And the lower you got, the less charming was the view.

Thus the entire system of subordination arose from the single privilege of who had the right, who was allowed to admire the charming view. But behind all this seeming trivia there lay something very important — the issue of the value society places on you, what your place in the Table of Ranks is.

God, what soul-rendering scenes, despite their outward respectability, were played out every day in the two elevators of this remarkable house! The wife of some important writer, entering the elevator, would say nonchalantly, "Ninth floor, please."

While another wife would mutter, embarrassed and timid, "I go to four."

And she would press the elevator button as if she were dressed in a tattered skirt and a jacket with holes at the elbows. The abyss between the wives on the upper floors and those on the third was colossal. Among themselves, the ladies of the third floor abused the arrogance and conceit of those living above them for all they were worth. While the latter bore their proud cross of loneliness in silence.... And where could all this have come from in this state of peasants and workers?

The reader, no doubt, has already decided that I am writing all this because they put me on the second floor and I'm getting my own back! Patience!

And so I arrived a week late, but I was not a bit worried — after all, I had warned them in my telegram. I was met by the matron, who, apologized, saying, "You know, we don't have any free rooms now. For a few days, until one becomes available, you will have to live in the hall."

"What do you mean the hall? I sent a telegram, I told you..."

"Yes, yes. We received your telegram. But there is no room free. And you will undoubtedly find the hall very much to your liking. It's large and there's even a television."

"But everybody will come in and out whenever it suits them."

"Not at all, the hall will be closed off. No one will bother you..."

The matron and I went up to the sixth floor on the elevator. She threw open the door to the hall, which, due to the surplus of writers wanting to get into the House of Creativity, had been turned into a guest room. Evidently, this conversion had occurred not long ago, perhaps I was one of the first "guinea pigs." It was a strange accommodation. In size, it was close to 50 square meters with a gigantic window stretching from floor to ceiling. The hall, as is customary, contained a piano and a television on a table. The sofa had been turned into a bed and was made up.

"And where is the washstand and the rest...?" I asked, flabbergasted.

"Here's a key for you," the matron went out into the corridor and unlocked a door not far from the hall. "This will be your personal lavatory. No one but you will use it. Here is your washstand as well."

I glanced into the closet-like room, which indeed contained all she had said. The architect had evidently designed a washroom in the corridor with the staff in mind, since every guest room had all these conveniences.

"But I sent you a telegram," I muttered hopelessly.

"This will only be for a few days," said the matron making a gesture of helplessness.

And I gave in. I was a guest here. And in spite of the fact that I had a legal authorization, I did not "insist on my rights." All right I would live in the hall for a few days, this was an experience I had never had. It was only a pity that I didn't play the piano.

And, by the way, my coauthor, who had arrived on time, had first been placed on (oh, the horror of it) the second floor, but after a week of requests and complaints he obtained a promotion and was transferred to the third.

The morning after my arrival I put on my sweat suit, sneakers and raced out onto the sea-smoothed sand of the Gulf of Riga. During that blessed period of my life, I ran for 40 minutes every morning before breakfast, covering approximately 7 kilometers. I returned after my run drenched in sweat and, naturally, wanted to get right into the shower. But there was no shower either in the hall or in my "personal" washroom. I was embarrassed to knock at the door of the room of some stranger on my floor. Undressing down to my shorts in the hall I looked into the corridor and, ascertaining that no one was there, dashed into the toilet. There I did a poor, incomplete, and very uncomfortable job of washing over the sink, and, I confess, got into a very irritable state. For some reason I found all this very unpleasant. Looking out again, and waiting until two women got into the elevator, I whizzed like a meteor into my room. Before I could go to breakfast, I needed to shave. I got out my electric shaver and began to look for the socket. There wasn't one on any of the walls. How to shave? My eyes rested on the television and I realized that it had to be plugged in somewhere. I began to follow the cord emerging from the set. It led under the piano. I looked under the instrument, but it was dark and dusty. Then I got down on my hands and knees and crawled under the piano. Feeling my way along the television cord I found the socket. I had to pull out the television plug and plug in the shaver, and then crawl backwards out from under the piano, and then I could shave. Rather than calmly following this procedure, I behaved rather strangely. In spite of the fact that I was alone, a curse escaped from my lips, one which was unworthy of a creative artist, especially a Soviet one.

Grabbing my shaver, and taking the steps two at a time I dashed down the stairs. I jerked open the door to the waiting room of the House of Creativity's director.

"Is the director in?" I asked the secretary very impolitely.

"Yes, but he is in confer..."

Without letting her finish and without asking permission, I rushed into the office. Some sort of conference was indeed going on there. Almost the entire staff — 14 or 16 people were present. The director, standing over the table, was intoning something. Catching sight of me, he stopped in the middle of a word.

"What's going on here?" he asked me.

"Where is your electric socket?"

"Why are you here?"

"Ah, here it is," I said in triumph.

Without paying any attention to anybody, I went up to the wall-plug, jerked out the cord of the table lamp, plugged in my shaver and began to shave as if nothing out of the ordinary had happened. It got totally silent. In the silence, you could hear how loudly my Soviet-made shaver was buzzing.

"Get out of here immediately!" ordered the director.

"I'll leave after I shave."

"Stop this behavior at once." shouted the director.

"You try shaving in the hall under the piano." At this point I caught sight of a mirror on the wall and stopped paying attention to those around me. I had no time for them — I was busy.

The conference had clearly reached a dead end. Realizing that I would not leave until I had finished shaving, everyone waited in silence. I myself got into the swing of things and, without hurrying, shaved very carefully. Then I prosaically removed my whiskers from the shaver and said, "I'm going to have breakfast now. See that I have a room when I am through. Otherwise, I am going to move into your office."

The director evidently believed my threat. After breakfast the matron was waiting for me. Through some miracle a free room had been found in which everything was clean, tidy, and very comfortable. A number of elusive signs told me that no one had lived here for several days. This room turned out to be on the fifth floor. This was an accident: if the director had had his way I would have been confined in the cellar. But he was forced to limit himself to snubbing me for the whole rest of my stay, acting as if I didn't exist...

Five years later Braginskiy and I again went to Dubulta to work on the play "Amoral Story." The director was the same fellow and I laughed to myself, wondering what floor he would put me on this time. It happened that by this time I had been accepted into the ranks of writers, and had even been rewarded and given prizes. I was bucking for the sixth floor. I understood that it would not do to get carried away, and I mustn't dream of seventh heaven. That, in the final analysis, would be immodest! But according to their own table of ranks I belonged on the sixth! The reality turned out to be worse than anything I could have predicted! The rancorous director hadn't forgotten how I had shaved in his office and put me (horror of horrors!) on the third floor. And at the same time he gave my coauthor a room on the seventh. I manfully endured this disgrace. Many people pitied and sympathized with me, outraged by this injustice, but I pretended that I didn't care at all, that such things couldn't touch me, that I was above such prejudices.

After all, what else could I do?

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### **Special Programs, Frank Reminiscences Mark Vysotskiy Jubilee**

#### **Series Based on Foreign Film Footage**

18000207 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 23 January 1988 carries on page 7 a 200-word interview with Eldar Ryazanov by G. Charodeyev under the headline "The Known and Unknown Vysotskiy." The article notes that the premier of a television program entitled "Four Meetings With Vladimir Vysotskiy" would be aired on January 25, 26, and 27. Ryazanov, the author of the series, explained that the idea for the program came about in 1985, but actual work on it dates from October 1986. The idea was to bring together all archival film and video material on Vysotskiy into one program. Since previous shows had already exploited all domestic sources, new film footage to be used in the series was purchased abroad in Italy, France, Austria, Denmark, Japan, FRG, and Bulgaria. Ryazanov notes that over 90 percent of the film footage will be new for Soviet viewers. He also mentions that work on the series did not always go smoothly: there were arguments, for instance, over the song "Ya vam, rebyata..." which were finally resolved by a proviso in the narration which states "I hope that foreign diplomats have a good sense of humor and will understand that this song is meant to be humorous."

#### **New Moscow Tour Organized**

18000207 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian on 12 January 1988 carries on page 8 a 200-word article by A. Mosesov in which he describes a new tour organized by the Moscow City Tour Bureau. The tour will cover places significant in the life

and works of Vysotskiy, including those made famous by his songs. The first tour, which has been in preparation for 2 years, will take place on the eve of Vysotskiy's 50th birthday celebration, on 25 January. Tours devoted to the writer Vasiliy Shukshin and the filmmaker Andrei Tarkovskiy are also being planned for the future.

**Culture Fund Plans Celebration, Museum**  
18000207 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 3,  
24-31 Jan 88 p 16

[Article: "Devoted to Vysotsky"]

[Text] Poet Pyotr Vegin talks about the preparations for a gathering to be held at Luzhiniki Stadium on January 24, 1988.

It will not be in memory but in honour of Vysotsky, to mark his 50th birthday. That's the main thing.

The idea for the gathering was suggested to the Soviet Culture Fund by Vysotsky's friends—actors from the Taganka Theatre, among them Veniamin Smekhov, Alla Demidova and Leonid Filatov.

The Culture Fund backed the idea. Box-office takings (and we hope they will be considerable, since ticket prices will range from two to ten roubles) will be donated to the Fund for the museum dedicated to the outstanding actor and poet. Although there has not yet been any decision to set up the museum, a place has already been made available for it. The Moscow City Executive Committee has allotted a building for the Vladimir Vysotsky museum. If all goes well, the museum will become a reality, probably for the first time in good time and in a befitting manner—rather than many years later, when Vysotsky's documents and possessions are being collected throughout the world.

Preparations took a long time. The Culture Fund assembled those who initiated the Vysotsky gathering—actors, poets and artists. They discussed everything: the speech by each participant, the music, the poster, a booklet, a badge and so on. Group leaders Veniamin Smekhov and Andrei Voznesensky had an inexhaustible supply of ideas, although not all were used.

This gathering will be a real event just as Vysotsky himself was, his whole life—vivid and frantic. Mostly we would like to avoid a feeling of mournfulness and embellishment. Vysotsky's books are published and his records are issued. He was awarded the State Prize, the films in which he participated have finally been released.... There is a definite feeling of satisfaction, alas, long-awaited satisfaction. A most striking personality and a person of natural talent, Vysotsky expressed the feeling of his time and won the people's love though, during his lifetime, he was not accepted by the bureaucrats and literary bigwigs.

Among the participants at the gathering will be Taganka Theatre actors Alla Demidova, Veniamin Smekhov, Leonid Filatov and Valery Zolotukhin, poets Andrei Voznesensky, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, Bulat Okudzhava and Bella Akhmadulina, singer and composer Alexander Gradsky, saxophone player and composer Alexei Kozlov, singer Yelena Kamburova and others.

**Reflections on Vysotsky and Glasnost**  
18000207 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 3,  
24-31 Jan 88 p 16

[Article by Natalya Krymova: "Unsuitable Thoughts for a Jubilee"]

[Text] I'm afraid my remarks may strike a discordant note amid the fanfare, publications and reminiscences marking the 50th birthday of the late Vladimir Vysotsky. Let us imagine for a moment that he is still with us. What kind of birthday celebrations would there be? Of course, there would be many friends and much fun around him. No doubt numerous people knowing about his birthday would have sent greetings. But would he have been nominated for the State Prize by Soviet film makers? Would our publishers be fighting for larger printing of his books? How many of his books would have been published in the seven years since his death? Would there have been the constant requests from newspapers and magazines for "something yet unpublished"?

I don't think so. "I can't say much about the living, but we take very good care of the dead." This is an unpromising opinion—just like everything Vysotsky ever said or sang. The meaning of this bitter (and perhaps eternal) truth is valid not only for his time.

It has become commonplace to say that he sang and wrote about the things we openly discuss today. This is certainly true, in part. But many understand the purport of his art too superficially. Besides, I wonder if the glasnost establishing itself today is a door wide open to every powerful and socially motivated talent. Vysotsky's talent, voice and inner independence were literally a thorn in the flesh of those who denied the freedom of poetic self-expression, who feared for their official position and privileges, etc. This is common knowledge now, too. But here is what the poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, not an official, wrote recently: "In my opinion, Vladimir Vysotsky was neither a great poet, nor a singer of genius, nor a composer. Yet, thanks to his strong and inimitable character, the components of his life taken together formed a major poetic figure." According to Yevtushenko, in the period of "poetlessness", Vysotsky, thanks to his character, if only partially "filled that vacuum with his songs". Well, everyone is entitled to his opinion. And I don't feel like arguing with a living poet about the stature or nature of a dead poet. I'm sorry, however, that in this way Yevtushenko chose to encourage the publication of a hastily written play of doubtful artistic merit, to put it mildly. This shows that even in the era of glasnost, the criteria may be distorted.

Vysotsky's name may be used to disguise hackwork and opportunism, and the editors of an influential periodical may stoop to publish rubbish. In short, Vysotsky might have found today's life easier, but only relatively so.

As for his colleagues' psychology, one can certainly understand that. Every poet wants to be appreciated. If appreciation could be measured and the amount bestowed by people on Vysotsky divided equally among all other poets, everyone would have been satisfied. But the way things are, many feel wronged: their books are published in large printing and hard covers, but the nation's love and gratitude go instead to Vysotsky who was not even a "great" poet, but merely an "inimitable character".

Vysotsky's jubilee is being celebrated in the era of glasnost. But we should remember that both he and we ourselves used to live in a different era which can hardly be erased from our memories. Like it or not, our thinking cannot be revolutionized overnight. For example, here is the verbatim record of my recent talk with an editor. He glanced by my manuscript, entitled "He Who Did not Fire" and said: "No, this won't do. We won't even discuss it. You don't know how things are up there." He pointed to the ceiling. I said: "But why won't it do? It has already been published!" I named the periodical. He said: "Has it really? That changes the situation radically...."

What is this? Just the long-familiar, old-time official attitude of an editor who's no longer openly censorial perhaps, but neither is he independent in his judgement, because independence is unprofitable and inconvenient.

Vysotsky's poetry showed us an unpredictable and indomitable independence of mind, soul, will and voice. Later, when that living phenomenon turned into "literary legacy", our attitude toward the poet acquired a new quality. Efforts were made to hush up his influence, and to oppose those efforts at hushing up. As the result of the general change, Vysotsky was granted "official recognition". It was in fact the recognition of history of Vysotsky's historic significance. At the same time, there appeared the danger of commercialization, empty words, impressive noises, a museum atmosphere, "prestigious" memorial commissions and gatherings—in short, everything that was so emphatically at odds with Vysotsky's character.

A more serious change in our attitude to his art has to do with the deep and significant relationship between the past and the present. Vysotsky did not live to see the changes taking place in our society, but they became a sort of reference point and a stimulus for a fresh look at everything he did.

The term "years of stagnation" is often used too lightly. It implies that everything bad—stagnation, lawlessness and muteness—is in the past, and justice now reigns supreme. I don't know about others, but I personally feel

uneasy about such verbal recklessness. The most painful process involving millions of human lives and destinies is reduced to a simplistic catch phrase. If we look more closely at yesterday's and today's realities, the apparent simplicity vanishes, and life appears dramatic and paradoxical. From a historical perspective, it's a real paradox that for over 15 years Vysotsky spoke and sang at the top of his voice, disturbing the hushed atmosphere and breaking through all the barriers and apathy. This happened during these-called years of stagnation, muteness and inhibitions. Vysotsky's genuinely democratic art did not ask for instructions as to what form or content to choose. His art was simply there. Therefore, we should in all fairness admit that without knowing his words would eventually become government policy, Vysotsky professed democracy and glasnost all the way. It is particularly noteworthy that the people at large responded to that appeal from their poet long before the critics, intellectuals or politicians did.

What conclusion can be drawn from this story? To my mind, it is simply this: One can judge Vysotsky's poetry as one pleases, one can find fault or merit in it, but what one cannot find there is falsehood. He never lied with a single word or sound. When the truth is out of favour, the instinct of self-preservation prompts every human being (and every poet) to let things go and say nothing or reconcile himself to lies. In Vysotsky's songs, the moral reference points are so clearly marked as to deprive him of the notorious "complexity" or "mysteriousness" of the poetic elite.

"How few we are: the carefree and elect....," Pushkin's Mozart said to Salieri. Today as yesterday the elect are few, but Vysotsky was among the absolute minority whose uniqueness was guaranteed by absolute truthfulness.

It would be wrong to say that in the "mute" years people did not talk at all. Of course they did—in the streets and at home. Those who lived by the sweat of their brows were not mute. They retained their sound judgement and always found ways to express it. Vysotsky's sensitive ear was attuned to these popular sentiments. He had an ear for how people put messages, picked up in official reports, into their own words, for their speech and their inner life, free of bombastic rubbish, and how people never lost faith in justice, in the reunion of high words with high deeds. In his art Vysotsky, though an actor, always relied on what "is", not what "seems"—I mean the latent, the not immediately apparent and self-sufficient life of the masses.

The numerous characters introduced to literature and son by Vysotsky had never had a voice before. Hence Vysotsky's fantastically rich vocabulary, his mastery of colloquial Russian, clumsy but safe from greater evils. Hence his fearlessness in addressing the tragedy in our history and present-day life. Part and parcel of the people's experience, they could not be taboo for the people's poet. Hence his humour which provokes

thought rather than hollow laughter. It's the popular Russian kind of humour, used as a means to protect the humanity in human beings. Hence his musicality and predilection for the song as a form traditionally used in Russia to express everything from agony to triumph, from grief to joy. In a sense, Vysotsky has revived a tradition dating back to times immemorial.

Now the time has come for some of his grievances to become things of the past. Vysotsky has been posthumously awarded the USSR State Prize. The celebration of his birthday is to be held in the capital's largest concert hall. A generous person who never tired of doing good for other people, he will be commemorated with a concert officially called "charitable". Many prominent and famous personalities are seeking to obtain the highly-priced tickets.

What if a familiar figure in a rugged sweater, a guitar slung over his shoulder, appeared in the middle of that smart crowd, approached the mike and started singing? He would sing about all of us, about the year and events that went by without him. He would make us understand who thought what about perestroika, about our present-day worries and concerns. We would learn what the driver, the writer, the minister and the soldier thought about it all, who was "for", and who was "against", who clung to his office chair and did not give a damn about anything else. It would suddenly become clear to us that demagoguery and hypocrisy are still flourishing. Hopefully, common sense, honesty and order will prevail someday.

It's good we have had Vysotsky. We can be proud of having had him. But, oh, how we miss him today.

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**Theater Almanac to Become Bimonthly Journal**  
18000183a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in  
Russian 24 Dec 87 p 5

[Interview with Nikolay Miroshnichenko, editor in chief of SOVREMENNAYA DRAMATURGIYA, by Al. Gri-nevich: "The 'Modern...' Will Be Modern!"]

[Text] Twenty four of them have been issued — 24 issues in six years. We took into our hands the first issue of an almanac with a surprisingly simple, but simultaneously very important-sounding name — SOVREMENNAYA DRAMATURGIYA [Modern Dramatic Art] in 1982, and now we are holding the last issue in 1987. Why the last issue? Because, starting next year, on the basis of a decision made by state agencies and the almanac's publishers — the Union of Writers, the Union of Theater Workers, and the USSR Ministry of Culture — it has been turned from a quarterly journal into a bimonthly one. The previous name will be retained, and the first issue will appear in February.

We had a chat with the SOVREMENNAYA DRAMATURGIYA's editor in chief, Nikolay Miroshnichenko, about what specific innovations will appear in the magazine.

[Question] Why did the recommendation to reorganize the almanac occur?

[Answer] The "guilty parties" in this instance were, first of all, the delegates to the most recent congress of writers. It was precisely they who raised that question sharply. And there were several convincing arguments. For example, one of them was: for a reason that is difficult to explain, playwriting has gradually lost its independence as a literary genre. It has become, to use the catchy expression of the directors, a kind of "material" for putting on plays. And if playwriting is only "material" and, without the director's fantasy and the actor's talent, does not represent any independent artistic value, then almost all our country's literary journals have put it beyond the limits of their attention. Naturally, this could not fail to have an effect both upon the literary-artistic merits of drama as a whole, and upon the theoretical, research, historical-bibliographical science about it. We have not yet had any experience in the independent reading of tragedies, comedies, and vaudeville skits.

[Question] I agree with you that we have actually gotten out of the habit of reading plays. Although one can perhaps still talk about plays as being unable to compete with prose. Incidentally, M. Shatrov's play "The Peace of Brest-Litovsk", which speaks to the reader in the language of truth and *glasnost*, appeared in NOVYY MIR, despite the fact that that journal does not the appropriate departments, and it was read instantaneously. I think that the crux of the matter nevertheless is in the plays themselves.

[Answer] I want to refute decisively the assertions made by certain critics and directors to the effect that playwriting is lagging behind the realities of modern life. We might recall the historic versions of Mikhail Shatrov and Aleksandr Shteyn, in which the playwrights posed questions that are important for today. We might recall the moral search in the recent plays of Aleksey Arbuzov and Samuil Aleshin. And are we really to believe that the dramatic art of Rozov, Salynskiy, Makayenok, Mukhamedzhanov, and Kolomiyets did not come out openly and passionately after such mass phenomena during the stagnant period as misuse of power, careerism, corruption, drunkenness, and civic passivity? And the plays by Dvoretzkiy, Gelman, Zarudyy, and Misharin, which appealed to the party and civic conscience of their contemporaries? All these plays were not simply written, read, and staged.

[Question] Let's return to the new journal. Specifically speaking, how will it differ from its predecessor?

[Answer] To a certain degree, the very first issue will answer that question. In addition to our traditional departments — theory, history, and bibliography — we have made independent sections, as follows: literary heritage; literary-theatrical information; foreign news items; news about the playwright's written word. We are preparing to devote attention to the theater in television and radio. Incidentally, neither our plans nor our departments and sections should be perceived as something that has been defined once and for all. For us the current year is a year for experimenting.

[Question] An experiment gives a person many obligations, including the obligation of being very unexpected and uncustomary. And it is logical to tie this in with young people. Incidentally, you conducted the young playwrights seminar that recently ended in Ruza. What are your impressions? Won't the editorial office's plans include special young-people's issues?

[Answer] SOVREMENNAYA DRAMATURGIYA has already experience in working with young playwrights. The basis of that experience was laid by our associate, the talented playwright and founder of our publication, Vasilii Chichkov.

At the seminar in Ruza I happened to become acquainted with several interesting, artistically realized plays by young playwrights. They will apparently form the basis of a future young-people's issue.

[Question] How will things proceed in the criticism shop?

[Answer] On the title page of the first issue it is stated that our journal has now become a sociopolitical one also. This addition is extremely substantial. We see as our task the fight for restructuring and *glasnost*. In this regard we are resurrecting such a genre as literary-theatrical public affairs. And that means that our emphasis will be directed toward articles and essays that are truly problem-oriented and honest.

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**Babel's Play 'Sunset' Revived on Latvian Stage**  
*18000183b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 5 Jan 88 p 5*

[Article by Yelena Matsekha, Riga,]: "Faust from Moldavanka: I. Babel's "Sunset" At the Riga Russian Drama Theater"]

[Excerpts] A drayman's belly band with a little bell on it floats upward, opening the scene. A fiddler perching on the roof is plays a melancholy melody. Situated in the semidark courtyard depths are the inhabitants of a special country — Moldavanka, in the Odessa outskirts — a country that has given birth to its chronicler, the famous writer I. Babel.

This world no longer exists — Moldavanka has become a legend. And a stained glass window has frozen over the stage like the scarlet tail of a comet — a glass kite which, throughout the three-hour play, repeatedly bursts into flame with the sunset's glow...

Babel's "Sunset" — a musical tragicomedy based on the works "Sunset" and "Odessa Stories" — has been staged by the Riga Russian Drama Theater. It attempted to resurrect for the stage not only a play, but also the playwright's world. Beautiful in its tragic nature and its joyousness and by its tempestuous, at times self-destructive energy, that world needs the theater in order to communicate a history in which laughter and tears mixed together so firmly that they cannot be separated.

This is the way it is: Nekhama's husband, the father of three grown children, the owner of a carrier enterprise, the powerful Mendel Krik has fallen in love with the mischievous songbird Marusya and has begun dreaming about another — endless — life in the orchards of Bessarabia. "Faust from Moldavanka" is the name that a critic gave the hero of Babel's drama. The year was 1928, and the play was produced by what is by now the legendary MKhAT-2 [Moscow Academy Art Theater No. 2]. Since that time "Sunset" has not appeared on the Soviet stage.

Almost 60 years passed. Then the paths of the Riga Russian Drama Theater's chief director Arkadiy Kats, Moscow composer Aleksandr Zhurbin, and Leningrad poet, translator, and playwright Asar Eppel crossed in an unusual work.

Coexisting in the play are a multilayered urban folklore and the rich musical arsenal of the twentieth century and its rhythms. The purpose is to illuminate with Babel's light that which surrounded the heroes and that became a part of those heroes themselves, without losing at such time either a sense of genre or a sense of humor. Flemish painting alongside of precise graphic art — that is how the director remembered and saw Moldavanka, the country of his own childhood.

A new age has come to Moldavanka — stern, cynical, already somewhat of a demagogue who knows how — in the style of a tango — to present in an elegant manner very unpleasant, sometimes blasphemous things. They are fascinating, the children of Mendel Krik: the famous robber Benya Krik, nicknamed King (Yu. Sharshov); his brother, the good-for-nothing cavalryman Levka (Ye. Lupiltsev); and Dvoyra (T. Poppe), who yearns for happiness in a well-furnished love nest. Mendel and Benya could not fail to clash with them.

Where previously the fiddler had played his sad melody, a very "courteous" trio of robbers straddle the roof as though they own it, and look down as though from a watch tower. The trio sing a "song about the time,"

which must — of course, it must! — be allowed to advance, but in the light rhythm one hears the inception of the alarm in the second, tragic act.

The bond between the times disintegrates — and the chasm opens wide. Mendel and Benya stand on the brink. This is the large orbit into which the authors and the actors throw all the lines of "Sunset" — from the gloomy, fearful ones even in their frankly conventionalized form, to those that are full of the desperate, simply mindless, excessively splashy gaiety of the scenes. In those lines, wise things are said about age and youth, about yesterday and today, about the dead and the eternal. And this was done in the traditions that are typical of the world of Moldavanka. How can one forget when the Nekhama (R. Praudina) who is gentle and who ecstatically loves her children, to the crescendo accompaniment of a chorus like that of a heroine in an ancient tragedy, in mute despair kicks at her son who is rolling toward the front of the stage — he has raised his hand to his father!

The play has a very large cast and employs almost the entire troupe of Rigans.

This is a musical play in a drama theater, and A. Kats has repeatedly restaged musical numbers and chorus performances. He has used singing to interrupt a scene, in order to emphasize the tragic nature of Babel's hero, who understands that he is criminal in his power, and who asks from life forgiveness for everything.

Much has been achieved by the theater, which attempted to unite Babel's renaissance love of life with a folk tragedy that has left our stage, to unite humor with the wisdom of ancient books.

The time has come when we are resurrecting many person who had an untimely death, and we are taking a new look at undeservedly forgotten literary heroes. The portrait of the author, one of the sons of Moldavanka, appears in the finale: the characters are arranged as though for a family photograph, and Benya Krik — that is, Yu. Sharshov, who is performing that role — sings about a real uncrowned king who has grown out of the small, intelligent boy in eyeglasses.

He looks sadly at us — the author of a few very thin booklets, a person who, like Faust at a period when the times were breaking up, meditates on the beginnings and the endings of existence, about the sunset of his Moldavanka. And his gaze remains in our memory.

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**Premiere of Drutse Play Draws Mixed Reactions**  
*18000183c Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 11 Dec 87 p 4*

[Article by M. Irimchuk: "The Wall: Reflections After the Premiere"]

[Text]The Russian Drama Theater imeni A. P. Chekhov is currently presenting the premiere of the performance "The Chestnut Mare With a Little Bell," based on the play by Ion Drutse. And every performance is a sell-out...

If anyone told you that he had understood Drutse's play and its inner meanings in exactly the same way that you did, that he had read the same subtext into it, and that he had received the same associations that you had, you would not believe him. It is probably impossible to have two completely identical opinions when the text of the play leaves such a broad field for interpretations, when at every step of the way a handful of riddles are thrown out to the audience in a casual and broad gesture, and when the details are subject to so many interpretations and the structure of the play is so incomprehensible...

It is perhaps specifically for this reason that such contradictory opinions have been evoked by the performance based on this play by the chief director of the Theater imeni A. P. Chekhov, MoSSR Honored Figure in the Arts V. Apostol. The only point of agreement for both the audiences and the critics is that the performance has become an event in the republic's cultural life.

What kind of play is this? By its great poetic merits and its profound philosophical meaning, it continues the line that was selected long ago by the writer — "Kasa Mare," "Birds of Our Youth," "Doyny," and "Holy of Holies." Simultaneously "The Chestnut Mare With a Little Bell" is the beginning of a new line, one that has a frank emphasis on current affairs and on social matters. It is as though Drutse has got tired of seeking numerous forms that make it possible for him to speak as though through a middleman. The pain, shouts, and groans that have burst to the outside do not seek anything with which to cover shamefully their "indecentcy" and they burn with their genuineness.

The current-affairs theater is a sign of the times. Sha-trov's "Dictatorship of Conscience," Gubarev's "Little Boar" and "Sarcophagus," Radzinskiy's "Sport Games...", and others, alongside of which Ion Drutse's play has taken a worthy place, have, I think, forced many people to look at the world and at themselves with different eyes. They have sobered many people and awakened many from their sleep. But even among this group of plays "The Chestnut Mare..." stands somewhat alone, since, on an equal basis with the revealed social directedness, there coexists in it a parable quality, a surprising metaphorical nature, poetry...

Drutse is a poet and philosopher — yes, that is close. Drutse is concerned with current affairs — that is understandable. But Drutse a rationalist, a constructivist!

This play by Drutse is very close to Becket's plays. It contains much of the theater of the absurd. The absurd situation, it seems to us, was designed by Drutse consciously, since it is no more than a model, a reflection of the absurdity of that life which, not too long ago, was a reality.

A certain Special Commission arrives at a certain remote village from the center. It consists of three members: the Responsible, the Less Responsible, and the Irresponsible. This commission engages in the attempt to ascertain whether any of the village inhabitants who were invited to the symposium had seen a south European fallow deer who had escaped from a game preserve swim across a river. Properly speaking, that is the entire plot. No, there is something else. Throughout the entire act, photographs of a chestnut mare are hanging on the walls...

Tell me, now, haven't you ever been asked to recognize in an ordinary nag a south European fallow deer? Think about it a while!.. Incidentally, the south European fallow deer was seen for the last time in the late sixteenth century on the territory of what is now Italy. Well, so what? Only a Chekhov hero can assert that this cannot be, because it can never be. But we already know that it can. It's possible. It is possible to banish people to places that are not so remote only because "it seemed to some people to be suspicious to see a peasant walking around in bright daylight, don't you know, with a pitchfork." It is possible that our rural lads had spent their vacation on some boundless tobacco plantations, tearing off the poisonous leaves and stringing them on a rope. It is possible to put a village lad in jail for three years because he had listened to disgusting anecdotes that besmirch us and our country until, running out of patience, he had punched the story-teller in the face. It is possible... Incidentally, where is this bitter enumeration leading? For two years we have already been learning about newer and newer "it is possible's", and we do not want to believe, but we do believe, shaken by this other truth that was unknown by us...

"If you want to know, we are interested not so much in the fallow deer as we are in the discussion concerning that deer," is the admission made by Gitse, the hero of the play, one of the members of the Special Commission. It is the same thing with Drutse — he is interested not so much in the situation created by him, as he is in how a particular person would behave in it, and in how much this situation makes it possible to express everything — by means of people and their fates. And how irreversibly, with what ruthless logic, the situation collects all the details, all the cues, the numerous subtexts, and associations into a single thought, a single idea that unites everything.

This spring TEATR magazine published VI. Arro's play "The Rut." It seemed to me that these plays are close, or, rather, their ideas are. For Arro, the rut is our spiritual, moral rut. Once we left that rut, consciously or unwillingly. And then we lost it, for a long time. Drutse's play was originally called "The Wall." I can see it — a tremendous gray wall that was erected right on that rut and that closed it off completely. A wall made out of autocratic decisions, of triumphant stagnation and violence against the individual, of lies and hypocrisy, of blind obedience in carrying out orders, and a servile consciousness.

"Comrades, let's just stop this comedy! How can we keep talking about some kind of fallow deer when it is obvious to everyone that the animal in those pictures is just the most ordinary old nag?"

For just as long we have been shown a nag and have been assured that it is a fallow deer. For just as long, in many spheres of our life, we have seen one thing, but on the newspaper pages and on the television screen we have had something else suggested to us. For just as long we have thought one thing, but have said something else. But:

"Comrades, let's just stop this comedy!.."

There is a very loud knock on the door. It is Gitse. He is recognizable. He is in almost every play of Drutse's — as a spiritual, moral principle, as that conscience and memory that exist in each of us — more or less — and that undermines and shakes loose that wall from day to day. We can already see holes gaping on it. It already stands there half-destroyed. All that is required is the special bravery to knock it down completely...

In this play, as in many others, in order to intensify and accentuate his idea, Drutse turns to spiritual literature. Quotations from that literature or the use by the artist of icons in the plastic resolution of the space on the stage are perceived by several people practically as a religious sermon. People are reminded not so much of the distant years when any depiction by an artist of naked nature was considered to be almost pornography... Hypocrisy, narrow-mindedness, lack of culture — these are things that people cannot get rid of so quickly or so easily. Nevertheless the time of extremes, the time of the dictatorship of officials in art, is passing. Evidence of this is Drutse's play, which is being presented today on three stages throughout our country.

Drutse himself dots all the i's, in a single blow turning all the accusations into nonsense. "What is God, in your opinion?", the Responsible asks Gitse. And he answers, "God is that which does not give me the right to recognize in that nag a beautiful fallow deer." According to Drutse, God is in ourselves, God is what is called conscience, bravery, spirituality, culture...

For the director, Ion Drutse is a playwright who is very, very sly. In his plays, everything appears outwardly to be simple and clear. But if the director does not find "something" that is concealed behind that simplicity, if he proceeds only along the path of everyday verisimilitude or goes off into the area of abstract metaphors and poetic images, unfortunately anything possible can happen, but it will not be Drutse.

In order not to seem to be subjective, I would like to cite the opinions that were expressed at a discussion of the play at the MSSR Union of Theater Workers.

"The play 'The Chestnut Mare With a Little Bell,' in the form of a parable or allegory, allows, it seems to me, ambiguous theatrical interpretations. Unlike the performance at the Moscow Satire Theater, which saw in the play an ordinary comedy, the people at the Chekhov Theater have gotten closer to what the author wanted to say. But they have only gotten closer... One is reassured by the fact that the theater has apparently not become rigid in its understanding and 'opening up' of the play. I saw two performances. There is a dynamic feeling..." (L. Chemortan, critic, candidate of historical sciences).

"The entire performance exists with respect to the word, rather than to those problems that are touched upon in the play... Unfortunately, the play was not understood by the theater in its importance, its integrity — in its smells, weight, color" (L. Shorina, critic).

"The performance in the Russian theater proved to be at the level of a newspaper public-affairs piece, a satirical article. And yet Drutse is a true man of letters. In a play that is complicated and rich in underwater currents, the theater sought and found a lampoon, and, as is obvious, it made a mistake" (A. Strymbanu).

"I did not proceed along the lines of a public-affairs piece or a lampoon," V. Apostol said. "I am a director in the psychological, realistic theater. It was precisely along the path of that school that the performance was created — we followed the author's text strictly, and we adhered precisely to the stage directions, and even the commas and periods."

Well, that path in staging the play is probably also possible. But in the proposed framework of the psychological theater, Drutse's play is obviously cramped, uncomfortable, stifled, since its nature is completely different. It is as though someone else's clothing has been put on it. And wherever its own clothing shows through, that is probably more to the credit of the actors, and especially the two central pairs of actors in both companies — RSFSR Honored Performer R. Kirillova and MSSR Honored Performer A. Umrikhin; and MSSR People's Performer Ye. Todorashko and P. Sokolov — who succeeded in creating around their heroes — "Mourner" Odokiya and old man Gitse — a kind of emotional field that, every time, restrains the performance that is ready to disintegrate any any moment.

Nevertheless it must be admitted that it was unbelievably complicated for the theater: the play encompassed many of the most varied and apparently unjoinable elements, everything that people have begun only recently to speak about loudly. The certain excessiveness of what was touched upon is, I daresay, especially clear in the scene with the "Faradula delegation." The scene seems to be foreign, to have overstepped the limit that defines moderation and taste, and in the performance it is perceived just as a rather vulgar anecdote.

We would like to repeat that Drutse is a playwright with many ambiguities. Therefore it would scarcely seem proper, in relations with him, that the method of duplication can prove to be felicitous and fruitful...

The play contains an episode — almost the final one — which, possibly, is that very key, that very thread by pulling on which it is possible to unravel the entire ball.

The commission has left. In the former refectory of the half-destroyed monastery in which the symposium was held, the only person remaining is Gitse. He walks slowly along the walls, looking attentively at them as though he is looking for something. A person appears — it is Rotaru, a student at the school on the territory of which the monastery stands. He asks Gitse what he is looking for. Well, Gitse says, I see an opened book, but I do not see the hand that is holding it, I do not see the entire figure. And it is like that everywhere — there are certain individual details, but it is impossible to see everything altogether. Everything altogether is over there in the corner, the boy says.

The only fresco that has been preserved in toto — a Madonna and Child — the symbol of purity and spirituality, is over in that corner, at the very bottom of it... That is the theater's treatment. But there is another one. Without philosophizing, the boy approaches wisdom. He is the only one who knows that point from which one can view the entire composition. He discovers that which Gitse has been searching for a long time, in the attempt to restore the integrity of the painting, to locate the overall spiritual tie that has been lost...

The tie that has been lost. The tie of times. Of generations. Of man and that which has been created by his hands... In his play Drutse attempts to find that link that joins the break in the chain. But what about us? Do we understand how unpredictably dangerous the broken chain is? We understand. And we do so today more than ever before. Because it can become the attribute of newly fashionable youth groups, the instrument of violence, the object of speculation. It can violate the age-old equilibrium of the scales in the hands of the goddess of Justice... It can. If we do not find the link, or the links. If we do not destroy the wall. If we do not begin again to walk along our primordial rut...

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### Recent Soviet Drama Productions Lack 'Masterpieces'

18120053a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
3-10 Jan 88, p 3

[Text] It is difficult to write today about the theatre. Writing an article calling a talent a talent and dethroning a false authority was once considered an act of civic courage. Not so today. Pretenders have been ousted from the Olympus and replaced by creative people, the best available. The stage has had a taste of freedom. Critics

and audiences are eagerly awaiting revelations. But these are not in evidence, unfortunately. It appears that theatre people are somewhat scornful of those of us who impatiently demand masterpieces measuring up to new times. They say, true artists do not have to change in perestroika, as they have always been working earnestly to the best of their ability, while the drudges cannot get any better for all perestroika efforts or experiments. Everything is as it should be. That's why there were no sensations at this autumn's All-Union Festival, "The Theatre and the Times," which presented the most interesting drama productions from all over the country in Moscow. The festival revealed some regularities worthy of note.

Whether we like it or not, the director is the central figure in 20th-century theatre. The play is an electrocardiogram pitilessly recording all his stresses and heartbeats. All is not well with drama directors. Many of them have been developing under unnatural, or rather favourable, conditions for too long. If you plant a pine seed in a pot and tend it carefully, you might get a nice little tree growing in your room eventually, but it will not be a pine tree. The stigma of laboured artificiality is found in many recent productions and is not likely to be easily erased. Perhaps, this is what prevents theatregoers from fully trusting the theatre. The present-day audiences tend to rely on their ratio rather than emotion, even in the warmhearted Moscow.

During the autumn festival, renowned directors proved their worth as expected. Thanks to the efforts on the part of the Union of Theatrical Workers, large audiences could see their plays together with experts. Among the favourites were Mikhail Tumanishvili, the eternally youthful master from Georgia, and Eimontas Nekrosius, 35, the winner of this year's USSR State Prize. As usual, Robert Sturua of Georgia was very much in the limelight with his original, ingenious, elaborate and exquisite "King Lear," which also revealed what seemed to me a certain weariness of formal devices exploited to the full by the masters belonging to our older generation of directors.

The plays presented during the festival showed that one cannot win without running risks, without pushing ahead and looking back at our recent past. This is what the company of the Karl Marx Theatre from Saratov did with the previously unknown play by Andrei Platonov, "Fourteen Red Huts." Platonov's precious lines uncovered such depths of human and social consciousness making traditional means of dramatic expression appear poor and obsolete beside them. The message got across, and we are thankful to the Saratov company for that.

One can't help realizing that Platonov's play, as well as the stage version of Mikhail Bulgakov's "The Heart of the Dog," brilliantly directed by Henrietta Yankovskaya at the Moscow Theatre of Young Spectators, could only appear in the period of glasnost and democracy. In my opinion, we have underestimated the fact that yesterday

A. Galin's play, "Stars in the Morning Skies," describing the events of 1980, had even less chance of being produced than the works by Platonov or Bulgakov. Today, "Stars..." is running successfully in Leningrad having made quite a stir in Moscow. Director Lev Dodin and his wonderful troupe have not only told us the truth about ourselves, but also pushed back the frontiers of credibility and authenticity on stage. Their earnest position was matched by their artistic achievement, which can only happen when a talented director gets the opportunity to work with a company of actors sharing his faith and aspiration.

Well, there were no surprises about the Moscow festival of recent Soviet drama productions. Diverse and by no means equally successful plays confirmed truths as old as the world. What was new was the feeling that loyalty to these truths should now be not only declared, but also practised. Such is the precondition for discoveries.

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#### **Problems of Independent Youth Theaters Discussed**

*18120053b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 49, 6 Dec 87 p 13*

[Passages in boldface as published]

[Text] Drama studios in the USSR are on the rise, their number having already mushroomed to more than a dozen. New ones continue to appear. If a year ago the opening of a theatre was an event, now it is nothing out of the ordinary.

Theatrical festivals have multiplied equally as fast. In the past there was one in Tbilisi (once every two years) and one in Yerevan—academic and more jammed with outings and banquets than with dramatic productions. Now, this autumn alone, there have been nearly a dozen festivals. In Kiev, Tashkent, Yerevan, Leningrad, Moscow...

One of these—a festival of drama studios, known as the Youth Theatre—was held in Kaunas, Lithuania.

Most participants in the Kaunas festival were self-supporting (meaning that they receive no subsidy from the state) drama studios. Only yesterday they were amateur or student theatres. Today they are professionals. A year ago some of them took part in the amateur theatre festival—Lefortovo Games-86. Now they were participants in a professional festival.

It seemed that everything was just fine.

And indeed, what can be better? Their favourite pastime has become a profession. There is no need to find hours after work—all their time can be given to the theatre. Nor is there a need to beg anyone for money for scenery, makeup or equipment. The theatre earns enough to buy

all this. There is no need—which is very important for creative people—to make the repertoire suit anyone else. The theatre itself decides what plays to stage. Nothing but advantages!

Why have most of these theatres suddenly become annoyed at theatre critics? Why have the critics changed their attitude towards them? After all, aren't they the same as they were a year ago?

The same, but different.

As long as they were amateurs, it was considered *mauvais gout* to criticize their productions or to demand excellence from them. Critics took a condescending attitude towards them. Moreover, aware of the difficult conditions in which the studios existed, knowing how poor they were and how they lacked all rights, we unwittingly tended to maximize our appraisals. We kind of added to their marks for courage, perseverance and dedication to art. But none of this guarantees perfection in performance.

But they have been spoiled. Accustomed to the praise. Accustomed to think of themselves as heroes. Accustomed to think that their critics were only those who wished to close their studios—retrogrades of safety-first people.

Nearly all of them have proved unable to handle criticism in a constructive way. Otherwise they would have to work to correct their blunders. It is much easier to accuse their critics of misunderstanding, bias and backwardness.

A few years ago Mark Rozovsky staged Karamzin's "Poor Liza" in his amateur theatre U Nikitskikh Vornot. Beyond all doubt, it was a major success. No one could believe that this classic of later 18th-century sentimentalism would turn into a brilliant musical. All of us, terribly bored, studied "Poor Liza" at school and failed to notice either its excellent language or its humour. Rozovsky's production was an immense success and, of course, it did not occur to anyone to complain, say, of some vocal imperfection. Now Rozovsky—in the professional theatre U Nikitskikh Vorot—has staged Dostoyevsky, having made one dramatization from two of his most famous novels: **Crime and Punishment** and **The Devils**.

Let me note that even one novel by Dostoyevsky is enough for any theatre to experience major difficulties. Much worse was the following: the actors—yesterday's amateurs—were found unprepared. Their workmanship and, the main thing, enthusiasm were quite enough to portray the cheap popular characters of Karamzin. But this is patently not enough for Dostoyevsky. The impression was of actors with the primitive and exaggerated manner of silent cinema entering a refined psychological

film by Bergman. As a result, the enigmatic Stavrogin, who has not been understood by anyone even today, has turned into a vaudeville fop... Dostoyevsky did not materialize.

Nor did he come to fruition at the studio Na Dorskakh—the most widely criticized studio of the Kaunas festival, which also ruined Pushkin's "Boris Godunov." If at least something has remained from Dostoyevsky, nothing was salvaged from Pushkin. The Na Dorskakh theatre so aggressively expanded the play into component elements that the audience (who knew "Boris Godunov" almost by rote) could not comprehend a single thing in the incredibly dull five-hour-long production.

No one liked the play! but Na Dorskakh didn't believe the audience and didn't accept the criticism. The studio people are in general distinguished by a fanatical faith, dedication to their director and absolute denial of everything "alien."

"Nice critics!" Rozovsky said with undisguised vexation. "They praise the Chelovek (Person) studio and the studio people of Vasilyev, and what kind of amateurs are they—they are well-known professionals!"

It seems to be logical, because Rozovsky's actors are yesterday's medics and workers. Can one compare them?

One can and must. They have evened up the score themselves. The price of the tickets—excuse my prose—has made them equal. Going to the theatre we should not necessarily know the actors' biographies. We are solely interested in the artistic result. If an amateur boxer, turning professional, expects an easy time from the opponent, a knockout is inevitable.

They want to receive like pros (and more) but to be demanded of them—like from amateurs?! Smart fellows!

Let's make an arrangement—either it's a hobby and then it is free of charge and of any criticism, or it's a pro and then without any indulgence. Otherwise, appealing to our conscience, the new theatres will win a right for themselves to play worse than the old ones. We, they will say, come from among the people—what can you expect from us? It may be good for formal democracy, but it does a lot of harm to art—that's the whole trouble.

The Kaunas festival demonstrated the world of difference in the class of new theatres. The production of "Cerceau" by director Anatoly Vasilyev was radiant with virtuoso workmanship and the highest level of professionalism. His School of Dramatic Art came to Kaunas immediately after performances in West Germany, Britain and the Netherlands, and before their visit to Yugoslavia.

Great success attended the Chelovek drama studio. Besides "The Emigrants" by Slawomir Mrozek, commended at the Tbilisi festival (MN No. 30, 1987),

Chelovek in Kaunas showed 'Cinzano' by L. Petrushevskaya. It is a sometimes funny, sometimes weird grotesque about so-called intellectuals who sink to the bottom of life. They serve somewhere and also somewhere have wives, children and old parents but all of this—both family and work—gives rise to nothing else except irritation. And they find satisfaction—moreover, happiness—in just one thing: seclusion among drinking buddies. No matter what the drink is. This time—Cinzano. Bottle after bottle. If only it could help them forget real life with its real obligations. They don't merely drink, but drown their conscience. And only from drunken delirium do we learn that one member of the party is supposed to bury his mother the following day.

In keeping with a quite understandable uniformity, the newly independent theatres, yesterday's "stepsons," turn to plays whose fate was also not easy. Besides Petrushevskaya's "Cinzano," also shown in Kaunas were "Little Wild Boar" by V. Rozov and "Dear Yelena Sergeyevna" by L. Razumovskaya. Both plays, which had no access to the stage for a long time, were presented by the Youth Theatre (Leningrad) and both enjoyed no particular success. This corroborated once again: today it is not enough to speak about morality or immorality; today the theme in itself no longer has any effect on the spectator. And artistic veracity was patently wanting in the Leningraders' production, although they had everything like in "big" theatres: scenery, music, light and costumes.

On the other hand, the "poor" "Svejk" after Jaroslav Hasek, played on three chairs, unfolded to continued laughter and applause. The Grotesque Theatre, which has just sprung up in Kiev and which has not yet shown a single play at home, was not included in the programme. Coming to Kaunas at its own risk, and securing with great difficulty the possibility to appear on the stage, Grotesque showed some improvised and very funny parodies at a night discussion club prior to the festival's curtain fall. Grotesque mischievously and sharply ridiculed both successful and unsuccessful productions and even dared to take aim at the critics.

The Youth Theatre festival in Kaunas gave a fully objective picture of the situation. During ten days, 12 theatres presented 23 productions. From brilliant to good-for-nothing. The programme even included "King Lear" from University of London which attracted a large number of people. The English play, which looked more like a New Year show with a Santa Claus, came kind of specially for everyone to see—a student production remains what it is irrespective of whether it has been staged at University of London or at the Kharkov Meat and Dairy Institute.

### Russian Culture Fund Targets Small Town Preservation

18000155a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 19 Dec 87 p2

[Article by P. Dorofeyev, first deputy chairman of the board of the All-Russian Culture Fund: "The Plan is Approved"]

[Text] The first plenary session of the All-Russian Cultural Fund has been held. It approved a plan of activity for 1988-1990.

From the moment the fund was established, its activity was primarily directed toward: preservation and restoration of the historical and architectural legacy of our country; augmentation of ethnic cultural treasures; and inculcation of the genuine values of spiritual culture in the masses. Work in these areas will continue in the future. Here are merely a few of the measures to be taken in accordance with the plan just approved.

It was decided to prepare a proposal concerning renewed publication of the journal RUSSIAN ARCHIVE. Collection of funds to erect monuments to Marshall G.K. Zhukov and Vasilii Terkin continues. Working with the Children's Fund imeni V.I. Lenin, the All-Russian Culture Fund will identify new talents and foster their development. Plans call for creation of experimental "houses of the people" with schools for popular songwriting in republic kray, and oblast centers, and in large cities.

A special problem discussed at the plenary session is preservation of the irreplaceable, unique features of the small towns of Russia. It is no secret that their distinctive character is ignored in the development of general plans and civil construction, restoration of monuments has been unacceptably slow, cultural life is being extinguished, local traditions are being forgotten. Preservation of the unique character of small towns is one of the most important goals of the fund.

In their speeches, writer P. Proskurin, chairman of the board of the fund, S. Geychenko, director of Pushkin National Park, A. Shkurko, RSFSR first deputy minister of culture, USSR people's artist D. Shmarinov, and others emphasized that the creation of the Cultural Fund is a phenomenon of the new age, and, from the very start, it must renounce all that is trite, and boldly overcome backwardness, and the existing formulae for doing things in the area of culture. Glasnost, openness, skill in recognizing and supporting the smallest initiative, the desire to consult with the people and be accountable to them for our work — all this must become the norm, the rule governing the activity of all the organizations of the fund.

At the plenary session, A. Stepanova RSFSR People's Artist and P. Ossovski, RSFSR People's Artist and USSR State Prize winner, made a gift of their work to the fund.

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**New Film on Eve of War Features Stalin Images**  
*18000155b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 19 Dec 87 p 4*

[Article by Natalya Bobochkina: "Signs of the Times: On the Film "Tomorrow There'll Be War"]

[Excerpts] Vasilyev's book is being read by people of all ages; the play "Tomorrow, There'll Be War" is meeting with great success. The Theater imeni Mayakovskiy put it on in London. And not long ago this story gave life to a film produced by the Studio imeni M. Gorkiy and based on a screenplay written by the author. This is one of those cases where an author's first work has been a success in terms of foreign sales — dozens of countries have bought it. In this case success was preprogrammed — it was inherent in the literary material. But after all, as we all know, a program is not enough, you have to be able to implement it. Director Yuriy Kara was able to do this.

Once it has arisen, the feeling of disquiet, premonition of the ordeals which will overtake Iskra, Vika and all these youngsters, thickens and grows, like a snowball. Vika's father talks with the children of the presumption of innocence as the "highest achievement of justice;" he speaks passionately, as one does of something which is constantly on his mind, tormenting him. And the next thing you know there are already black automobiles parked at the entrance to the house where the Lyuberetskiys live. Silently and efficiently, like people who are only doing their accustomed job, the men inside lead the designer from his home, ignoring Vika's cries as she clings to her father, as if they too were part of the routine. And next a meeting is scheduled at which Vika will be obliged to renounce her father. And Vika dies, not having found any other way to stand up for herself and for him... And, thus, the time comes for the ninth-graders to make a choice as citizens. The director has taught them to "love and hate," and they demonstrate the loyalty of their love and the strength of their hatred for treachery and injustice.

The frames of the film frequently focus on the image of Stalin as an emblem of the era. One might even say that these frames are overdone, that the viewers understand what this is all about, without these insistent reminders.. However, in their efforts to develop a pattern of images to represent the era, the film makers have come upon a real find: there is a parade on Aviation Day, giant portraits of the leader fill the sky. But the wind ripples the likeness and the expression on its face changes, assuming a malevolent grimace.

Today, when we are filled with a desire for true knowledge of history, when we view our past (of not all that long ago) without rose-colored glasses and when spots that were previously blank are being colored in in black and red, we are particularly moved by the phenomenon of the ripening of the character of people of that wonderful generation. Zinotchka, that good soul, finds a simple understanding of the misfortunes which have overwhelmed her class: it is a leap-year, the coming year has to be better! But tomorrow there will be war, the coming year is 1941... And these same school children, who, through the bruises on their souls, have learned to choose the "living truth" over the "cast iron absolute," have calmly and simply entered the battle. They became the generation which would conquer Fascism. Like a drop of water, their character traits reflected the best of what they inherited from their fathers and mothers, the authors of the October revolution.

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**Goskino Head on Film Industry Progress, Problems**

*18000181a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 87 p 3*

[Article by A. Lebedev: "What's New With Cinematographers"]

[Text] The regular meeting of the chairmen of Goskino [State Committee for Cinematography] and the USSR Cinematographers Union with journalists and the public was held in the cinematographers' Central House.

In evaluating the work of the committee apparatus for the past year, USSR Goskino Chairman A. Kamshalov said: "The decision has been approved to reduce the Goskino departmental apparatus by 40-50 percent. As of January 1988, all 9 of the "Mosfilm" movie studio associations are changing over to full cost accounting. It has also become necessary to change the relations of cinema with television, making them mutually economically beneficial."

The plan for movie rentals for the past year is in danger of being undermined. The reason for this? There are not enough good, clear films.

One of the most acute problems is that of movie theatre ticket prices. They have not changed in 30 years. The minimal price is 5 kopeks, and the maximum is 70 kopeks. Yet the expenditures for the production and rental of films have increased four-fold. We must improve the mechanism of price formation.

A. Kamshalov reported that in the current year, artistic and documentary films have been awarded about 20 prizes at international film festivals. Next year the All-Union Festival of Performance Films will be held in Baku, and the All-Union Festival of Documentary and Popular Scientific films will be held in Irkutsk. The

Moscow International Film Festival will be divided. The competition for performance cinema will be held in Moscow, while non-acting films will be judged in Leningrad. The city for the children's film competition has not yet been determined. The film festival in Odessa will also become international.

E. Klimov, first secretary of the USSR Union of Cinematographers governing board, noted that the adopted new cinematography model cannot guarantee the aesthetic level of the films. It is intended merely to create favorable conditions for creativity. Work is currently under way on a new edition of the Cinematographer's Union charter.

E. Klimov touched upon the question of joint undertakings in cinema. This is necessary, particularly also in an economic respect, since today they have begun talking throughout the world about the considerable commercial potential of Soviet films. In connection with this, we cannot help but be disturbed by the question of motion picture film. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry has shorted Goskino by a large quantity of film.

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#### **Film Union, Goskino Boards Discuss Restructuring Plans**

18000181b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 1 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by V. Ivanova: "Without a Meeting, The Matter is Closer"]

[Text] These words are now constantly heard in the conference hall of the Central House of Cinematographers, where the meeting of the USSR Cinematographers' Union governing board secretariat is being held. These words are said to everyone, regardless of calling or regalia, whether this be a famous producer, Goskino deputy chairman, or a debutante who has just made his first picture: "Without a meeting, in a business-like manner, you have 5 minutes".

The question of how to produce as many good films as possible was raised at one of the last meetings of the year. The discussion continued on the outline of a document drafted around a basic model for reorganizing film production.

Today, as a rule, during the key moments the secretariat meets jointly with the USSR Goskino board. Such was the case this time. Usually after about 2 hours the little hall "heats up" considerably, not so much from the cigarette smoke, as from the heat of the discussions. The time is over for the pre-drafted resolutions known to everyone a week before the meeting.

We might add that Producer V. Abdrashitov, governing board secretary, who was a most active participant in the development of this document, nevertheless spoke out

with a rather decisive announcement that [this document] still bears more of a declarative than a practical character, and that the work of realizing the model still lies ahead.

Others present also expressed many different remarks. If we sum up everything that was said, we may probably isolate three basic positions.

Today the question of the status of republic cinema committees is very acute. Everyone agrees that it would hardly be expedient to leave them in their present form as yet one more institution. But then what should be done after that? "To unite the republic Goskino with the ministries of culture," said USSR Goskino Chairman A. Kamshalov, "would mean to resort as a result to the same 'residual principle' against which the party warns us.

He was supported by the first secretary of the Kirgiz Union of Cinematographers governing board, T. Okeyev, and by Producer L. Gogoberidze (Georgia). They proposed that a special resolution be prepared by the Union of Cinematographers on this matter.

Another problem which has attracted close attention is film rentals. "The very concept of 'rental policy' is still just a myth," said Producer A. Smirnov in a decisive tone. How must the relations of rentals and the studio and rentals and the creative worker be built? What should the valuation and payment for the film be considering the fact that starting in 1989 all of cinematography must change over to cost accounting? Here the most varied, at times even seemingly fantastic, proposals were presented. For example, the notion of independent rental offices, possibly cooperative ones, was presented. As it turns out, there was a letter from our Leningrad comrades on this question with a number of interesting proposals. A question was also raised about the rural film network, which at present is in a very difficult position. "Whether or not the model will be provided for—that essentially depends on the rental services", noted film dramatist B. Metalnikov.

The question of non-performance film rentals, as well as rentals of children's films was discussed separately. These are particularly acute problems. The question of ticket prices was also raised, and it was said that the lower price limit must undoubtedly be increased.

As always, the question of the so-called creative reserve raised numerous arguments. We know that this problem has already become the subject of stormy debates, and in some places even a certain portion of demagoguery—after all, they say, everyone has an equal right to labor. To labor, yes, but to creative labor? This is an acute and painful problem, and it too awaits a solution.

So does the problem of separating the film studio from the film factory. There is much discussion about the fact that the material base of film studios is too weak to

isolate it. But, as A. Kamshalov noted, it is specifically the separation of the production sphere from the creative which may facilitate its strengthening. This is because, as we know, the capacities of some of our studios are undertaxed. For example, the "Mosfilm" studio operates at only about 60 percent of its production capacities. At the same time, for example, "Kirgizfilm" in essence has no current material base at all. If they were separate from the studios, film factories could cooperate and interact with each other.

In summarizing the discussion, Union of Cinematographers governing board First Secretary E. Klimov proposed approving as a whole the submitted version of the document on reorganization, while groups taking the initiative should urgently work out those points which evoked arguments.

12322

#### **Republic Filmmakers Protest Distribution Inequities**

*18000181c Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 1 Jan 88 p 3*

[Collective article by filmmakers L. Gogoberidze, producer and Georgian Union of Cinematographers governing board secretary; Kh. Narliyev, producer and Turkmen Union of Cinematographers governing board first secretary; M. Soyunkhanov, producer and Turkmen Union of Cinematographers governing board secretary; S. Khodzhikov, producer and Kazakhstan Union of Cinematographers governing board secretary; R. Batyrov, producer and Uzbekistan Union of Cinematographers governing board secretary; D. Salimov, producer, "Uzbekfilm" Studio; L. Osyka, producer and Ukrainian Union of Cinematographers governing board secretary; G. Piyesis, producer of the Riga Studio; A. Rozenberg, producer of the Riga Studio; V. Brasla, producer of the Riga studio; K. Muratova, producer of the Odessa Studio, and T. Okeyev, producer and Kirghiz Union of Cinematographers governing board first secretary: "Let's Create a Cinema Theatre for the Friendship of Peoples"]

[Text] For over half a century, the practice of film rentals for films produced by national film studios has remained unchanged. The films of republic film studios currently comprise 52 percent of all film production in the Soviet Union, yet in terms of rentals throughout the country they account for less than 25 percent of the screening time. There are many reasons for this. There are fewer copies circulated, they are poorly distributed throughout the country, and they do not receive the proper film advertising or film premiere showings of new pictures. All this creates an unequal position of our films as compared with the films produced by the central film studios of Moscow and Leningrad. We also lose out in questions of illuminating our films on the pages of the central press. And this is despite the fact that the achievements of multinational cinematography in recent years are apparent to all. However, the films of these

studios are not accessible to all Soviet views due to the inadequacy of the rental policy, particularly beyond the boundaries of their own republics.

Therefore, the first notable step in improving film rentals at the new stage of our development should be the opening of a movie theatre for national cinematography in Moscow based on the example of the Theatre of Friendship of Peoples.

This may be, for example, the movie theatre "Moskva", which would traditionally hold premiere screenings and showings of films created at union republic studios. These film premieres would become celebrations of the brotherhood and friendship of USSR peoples. Over 50 film premieres a year with the participation of actors, with the organization of exhibits, and with musical programs taken from the films—that would be a wonderful undertaking.

We are in favor of such a film theatre for the friendship of peoples. It must be created! Therefore, we consider it our duty to address the USSR Goskino with this proposal through your newspaper.

12322

#### **Latvian Director on Film Financing Difficulties**

*18000181d Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 1 Jan 88 p 4*

[Interview by M. Svarinskaya with Producer Aloiz Brench: "Toward the Cause—Creatively".]

[Text] This meeting was held in one of the pavilions of the Riga Film Studio, where film producer Aloiz Brench, together with his colleagues—cameraman Gvido Skulte, actor Andris Merkmanis and others—was filming the television series "Semya Zitarov" [The Zitarov Family] based on the novel by V. Latsis. Naturally, my first question was directed to the producer about his new work.

"The 700-year rule of the German barons laid a heavy curse on the political, economic and spiritual life of the native population of Latvia. When World War I began, the reactionary bourgeoisie used the anti-German sentiments of the Latvian people. The bourgeois nationalists undertook the organization of Latvian volunteer infantry battalions. By directing the brunt of the people's wrath against the foreign aggressors, the bourgeoisie wanted to stave off the threat of the impending revolution. Having been caught on the line of the false propaganda, part of the Latvian workers, peasants and intelligentsia first believed that the victory over Germany would wipe away the rule of the German barons and bring democratic freedoms."

This ideological situation is the basis for the screenplay of the future film. World War I is the great historical catalyst, which will help the film more clearly expose the social and moral values.

Depicting the leading characters in their development, we would like to trace how they change during the years of the civil war and the years of bourgeois Latvia. For me the historical reality in "The Zitarov Family" is not only a background for the events being depicted. The historical specificity, the depiction of the world and civil wars and life in bourgeois Latvia will help to create an arena of action favoring the exposure of the characters of the leading personages and their interactions. An important part of the producer's task here is to show how the historical conditions affect man, how they mold his personality, and how they make him either important or insignificant and lowly.

In the novel by V. Latsis we encounter a complex compositional measure—the change in plot structure. In each part of the novel the author places in the forefront that line which in the given specific case is the most important for exposing the characteristic indicators of the epoch and for embodying the ideological-artistic design of the work. Like the individual books of the novel, each episode of the film will tell about a separate completed period of time.

Judging by the inspired way A. Brench was telling about his picture, I assumed out loud that the waning year had been a good one for him.

"Oh, no," objected the producer. "On the contrary, the year was a very difficult one, despite all the horoscopes. We had great difficulties in putting this film into production, since the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, at whose directive the picture is being filmed, allocated insufficient funds for the project. While the battle was raging, six people left the film crew, including the leading actor, who has now been ably replaced by A. Merkmanis. Sometimes it seemed that everything was on the brink of failure. We had difficulty in obtaining credit, which allowed us to begin creation of the film. I might add that for the first time in the entire history of the Riga Film Studio's existence the republic allocated funds for a picture which was an all-union order.

"Are these signs of perestroika?"

"Possibly. Although on the whole there have still been few changes in our cinematographic sphere. It is true the film studio has a new director and the artist's union a new chairman. However, a number of vital questions are being resolved slowly and timidly. On the other hand, it seems to me that some problems bear an artificial character. For example, I simply can't understand why certain superior organizations have decided to eliminate the cinema committee and to attach the film studio, for example, to the Ministry of Culture. After all, the cinema

system includes not only the film studio. There is also the film rental service and the film distribution administration, whose jurisdiction includes the work of the movie theatres, the questions of equipment repair and provision, the organization of advertisements, the creation of subtitles and many other subjects. All this must be coordinated by a single organization, whether we call it the cinema committee or the cinema center. That is unimportant. However, its elimination, in my opinion, will lead to mismanagement of the complex cinematographic apparatus.

I believe the question of changing the studio over to cost accounting is also a controversial one. The fact is that republic viewers, whose numbers in a year average 600,000, cannot pay for the making of the film. It costs 360,000-400,000 rubles. It is specifically the all-union viewer who brings in the main profit. Even the poorest film is seen by no less than 3 million viewers a year. "Dvoynoy kapkan" [Double Trap], for example, had 42.5 million viewers in a year. Consequently, we are entirely dependent on all-union rentals. And under conditions of cost accounting, it will synonymously solve the problem of the number of copies, as well as the questions of advertising and distribution of films, etc. And we don't know how interested the all-union rental service will be in the propaganda of the republic film production.

"Yes, but this will finally put an end to bad films..."

"That is the ideal. In practice, such fierce competition may arise that entirely different mechanisms will come into play, which will essentially raise the objectivity of positions and evaluations."

"Generally, in my opinion, we have as yet very poorly assimilated the laws of competition, and therefore we should not rush into this matter. For example, I like the idea of our cooperatives very much. The initial material which are cooperators use—whether it be fabric, leather, or foodstuff—comes from the same warehouses where we, the consumers, get them from through state trade. Thus, why do cooperatives have the right to sell their products made of these 'raw materials' at a higher price than the state? Is it because they make them better? Yet we can achieve this same result in production and in the sphere of services, and radically increase wages for the quality of labor. The more good products the state has, the more of them will be bought. The basis of economics is highly effective production upon demand. A market which is rich in goods also stimulates the growth of wages. We must, in my opinion, resolve the questions specifically of state wages and professionalism of the cadres, and not expand the network of cooperatives left and right."

"Certain readers would probably agree with you, if we judge by our letters to the editors. I might add that our newspaper has published a questionnaire whose purpose

is to determine the attitude of the workers to the most varied problems of perestroika. Specifically, there is a question about what, in the reader's opinion, is hindering perestroika."

"You know, it seems to me that many ills occur because laziness has gained a foothold in our society. Why do we have all-hands jobs? Because we don't work uniformly. There is a Latvian folk tale about two brothers. One is strong and the other is diligent. They go to chop wood. The strong one sets about his work and by noon has chopped down half the forest. Then, tired, he goes to sleep. The diligent one works uniformly, does not get tired, and by evening has finished everything while his brother slept. "All-hands" rush work, then a break, and then again rush work. It important for people to understand the sense of work with a normal return. Simply everyone must work individually, well, and uniformly. Then there would not be any production rush. I would like to express the hope for all of us that the new year becomes the beginning of a new attitude toward labor for our society."

12322

**Readers Respond to Criticism of Art Exhibit**  
*18000197 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 29 Dec 87 p 4*

[Letters in response to art exhibit review, titled "If you walk along the plain...."]

[Text]

**This Is Disturbing**

The article "If you walk along the plain" is very typical. In the guise of criticism, out of a desire to be "progressive," no matter what the cost, the author is following the same line as the slanderers of the most significant periods of our glorious history, periods during which, in spite of isolated mistakes, historic victories were won, there was order in the land, the people were full of enthusiasm, there was confidence-inspiring consensus and clear understanding of what was good and what was bad. In essence, this article asserts that the art which, throughout the 70 years of Soviet power, met the needs of the Soviet art lover, and was acknowledged by him to be the only art which was true, understandable, and close to the people, this same art is worthless today. And why exactly? Because we are suddenly supposed to love everything these same newspaper hacks spent decades telling us was the incarnation of ugliness? Because we must believe today's new "wave," and not that on which our tastes were developed, which now appears to have become "obsolete?"

I agree that the All-Union Art Exhibit timed to coincide with the anniversary of the October revolution did not consist exclusively of masterpieces. But this in no way

justifies the author of the review. How could the journalist forget that in our time, which has witnessed a true and universal decline in artistic culture, only our nation was able to uphold the stability of true art, realistic art, which today, more than ever, needs to be defended. How could he criticize, or to put it plainer, publicly humiliate such remarkable, honored artists, whose past achievements alone have earned them the right to relative failures? But relative to what?! To other works of art they themselves created, which have entered the annals of our art? Or to that shameless daubing with which the ignoramuses (who in the past wouldn't have been allowed anywhere near an art gallery) crawling out of their holes, attempt to foist on the public? Or to that deformity which has been spreading among those of our young people who have lost all sense of direction? Or, perhaps, the hooliganism of the exhibits of "informal associations"? Let the author of the article speak with normal art lovers not confused by these apologies for critics — and he will soon know what the people want and need.

But the main thing, I repeat, is the principle. No one is against the course which has now been taken toward restructuring in the area of economics and social security. Everyone wants to live better, with a higher income. But when the flag of restructuring is raised over attempts to reshape social consciousness, which, as is well-known, includes art — this is disturbing. Glasnost is appropriate in those cases when we are speaking of a shoddy job of construction, or a thieving director of a store, or the poor performance of a public dining facility. Criticize all you want. But as for ideology, culture, morals, another tone is required.

I am writing about this only because I think that we are paying too high a price for the new fashion for criticism. Even now a nervous climate has been created, the papers give the artists the occasion for mutual insults, reproaches, and suspicions. With regard to the exhibition — people worked hard to get it ready, wanting to respond to the anniversary in a worthy fashion, and what did they get in exchange?....."criticism."

The fashion will pass, but the consequences will remain. They are appearing rapidly. I am certain that you will reap the rewards of your attitude of "everything is permitted," this refusal to acknowledge authority. Before it is too late, while all is still not lost, desist!

[Signed] S. Panov, pensioner. Podolsk.

**An Outsider's View**

An Outsider's View ... That is my impression of the exhibition and this nonparticipation and estrangement of many of the artists has shaken me. After all, we expected a great deal from this exhibition. It is dedicated to the 70th anniversary of our revolution. Shouldn't we have been infected with the spirit of revolutionary changes, not only those which happened in our past, but those occurring today?

And here a very serious and very important question arises, one which must be answered: was it really necessary to for the exhibition to accept any work at all which portrayed Lenin? Shouldn't such works be approached even more critically than the rest? After all, a person who attempts this theme must not only be a talented artist, he must have something to say.

And I want to say something else about a particular picture, one which scarcely anyone has noted; this is Dulfan's "Warning." Some children are enclosed in a drab grey space, as if they are cut off from the world in this rectangle, while around them are the forbidden colors of life. Two boys are dragging a warning sign which looks like a road sign, except the red line inside the circle is crossing out a child, as if to say, you are not allowed outside this rectangle.

In our art, a sign like this one has been removed. Who is responsible for the fact that many artists have been cut off from life, hasn't it been they themselves and the attitudes they have adopted?

[Signed] T. Badalova, student, Moscow.

#### It Is Time to Seek Some Answers

The restructuring currently going on has given us such a broad and problem-oriented vision of life, including artistic life, that, while only yesterday the article "If you walk along the plain..." would have caused a sensation, today it appears that is hasn't gone far enough. Why?

The critic merely lists shortcomings without tracing their roots. He can scarcely be so naive as to hope that criticisms and complaints will cause the next all-union exhibition to improve significantly in quality. Does he really think that the artists will come to their senses, take fright at the frank criticism, and immediately turn their efforts to making creative "discoveries"?

On the other hand, I am firmly convinced that each of the masters with indignation (or in the best and improbable case, perplexity) will ask the author: "For what?" "Why, works just like ours have been hung in dozens of such exhibitions for decades. They have been used to illustrate the advantages of socialist realism; the correctness of our point of view in art has been confirmed by sales, awards, monographs, and articles written about us..." Such artists, I am sure, will view SOVETSKAYA KULTURA's article as an annoying episode, an excess of subjectivism and, generally, an "atypical" phenomenon.

And now a counterquestion. Why do these pictures seem not to exist for the viewing public? The cold-blooded wholesale production of thematic works for exhibition has led to mass inflation of time-honored and ideologically serious themes in the eyes of the public. We now automatically associate them with a feeling of obligatory lack of sincerity and conventionalism; they have long

been hopelessly morally decrepit! What has brought about this dismal situation? The structure of our artistic life. This is a very serious, multifaceted problem. And I call on SOVETSKAYA KULTURA to discuss this issue before the upcoming meeting of the USSR Artists' Union. This is the most important link in the chain of problems in our artistic life.

I myself will touch on one point. For whom do our artistic workers paint and sculpt? Certainly not for the people, but for the exhibition committee. Well, perhaps then, the exhibition committee thinks about the people? No, the exhibition committee, with the inertia of decades, thinks about the higher-ups who will accept the exhibition. The bureaucrat-administrator is capable only of focussing on the presence of [officially sanctioned] themes at the exhibition. To him they are like a certificate of reliability and good-behavior, litmus paper responding to a purely superficial representation of the people and the party in art. This attitude toward art, as a demagogic (and what's more, cynical) interpretation of the "social imperative", has led to the spread of uninspired, heartless, purely intellectual "ideological content," to the predominance of external sources for creative urges over internal ones. Salieri's "dry fluency" of brush is triumphant in the exhibition at Manezh.

Only the bureaucratic alienation of our art from the living needs of the people can explain the fabrication of endless variants of "collectivizations," "shifts," "brigades," "victories for labor," "smoking breaks," and "literacy lessons" for exhibitions. Has anyone asked the art-loving public whether they require these in such lavish and endless quantities?

The preordained requirement to externally reflect life in accordance with traditional thematic canons has completely put an end to artists' setting high standards for themselves and feeling individually responsible for themselves as artists. In my observation, the greater portion of the artists in the Artists' Union do not long for the creative freedom offered by glasnost and restructuring. After all, its reverse, frightening side is independence. When they are left without the prompting of the exhibition committee, without the need to oblige the artless expectations of the authorities, this freedom turns out to be burdensome and repellant. The bureaucratic orientation of the Artists' Union's creative work has for decades endowed many with elitist disdain for the common art lover, with insincerity in the guise of performance of civic duty, and the ensuing cliché of representation. From exhibit to exhibit, we speak superficially about everything, including dates and the events of the moment, and of nothing deeply, truly, and completely.

Restructuring advances V. Mayakovskiy's slogan "Move Forward, Time!" We are seeing how all forms of art have roused themselves in their desire not to fall behind the

times. With the exception, sad as it is to admit it, of graphic art. But there is no way they can escape answering the questions that have been raised. These questions are being put by life itself.

[Signed] V. Kandyba, art critic, Vladivostok.

#### A Fresh Breeze Will Go With You

S. Razgonov's article "If you walk along the plain..." made me want to take up my pen. It is true we do not go to an exhibition just to obtain aesthetic pleasure. We go to observe how our artists and sculptors see and portray the present and history from the perspective of the present.

The viewer himself must be able to gain an understanding of the works and evaluate them according to their merits. By the way, with regard to the people coming to an exhibition: they come from different generations, have different amounts of education, and are of different ages. Now, when we are engaged in the process of restructuring, it is essential that we pay more attention to the cultural education of the younger generation starting at an early age, from the first years of school, so that continuity and tradition in the perception of realistic art is not broken.

And one more thing: shouldn't we abolish, as the Bulgarians did, the titles of "people's" and "honored" in art? Art must be dynamic. Repin and Surikov were never awarded such titles and their work was highly regarded.

Soon the artists' congress will be held. I think that we should pay attention to young artists, afford them greater opportunities to exhibit work of an "exploratory" nature. Then we will no longer be plodding slowly along on the plain, but will begin to ascend, with the fresh breeze blowing in our faces from the mountains.

[Signed] L. Volskaya, candidate in architecture, docent of the NISI, Novosibirsk.

#### Excerpts From Letters.

The article by artist G. Drozdov, "Who is on view?" accurately reflects the situation in graphic art. Everyone sees and understands this, but, I think, this was the first time it was said aloud: those with the higher status are displayed. As for the Academy of Art — it is the fact that its privileges are granted for life which leads to unfortunate consequences, such as the copying and coloring of photographs.

[Signed] S. Gorbatov, designer, Belgorod.

I don't know who the artist Drozdov whose letter was printed by the paper, is. However, I do know, for example, A. Mylnikov and A. Gritsay. These are great masters, who deserve their awards and ranks; but without these awards and ranks, they would still be Mylnikov

and Gritsay. I could cite many other names of splendid artists, and great craftsmen — who are not acknowledged for their positions and titles alone!

[Signed] N. Belykh, member of the USSR Artists' Union, Kostroma.

#### From the Editors

On 19 November, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA printed an article by S. Razgonov titled "If you walk along the plain...", which critically evaluated the exhibition in Manezh marking the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. This article provoked lively responses from professional artists and art lovers, readers of our paper. Various opinions were expressed, but all of them contained clear concern for the fate of graphic art, which, for the time being, is not prepared to meet the needs of the contemporary viewer (samples of responses were published in issues 141, 147, 148, and 152).

Today to end our discussion of the article, we have published points of view which are polar opposites. This is the only way — through conflict of opinions — we can reach the truth. Every thoughtful reader will come to his own conclusion. One thing, however, is certain — graphic art is in need of restructuring. We think that this is clear to the majority of artists, who will raise critical questions at their congress, to be held early next year. We are also certain that there cannot be two sorts of glasnost: one for economics, another for the sphere of culture, as our reader, S. Panov, proposes. This view implies the retention of areas which are not subject to criticism. In the area of art this is as dangerous as it is in all other areas. The lessons we have learned are fresh in our minds.

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#### Moscow Art Exhibit Receives Critical Reviews

##### Restructuring Efforts Not Reflected

18000161 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 19 Nov 87 p 5

[Article by S. Razgonov: "If One Follows the Plain... Polemical Notes on the 'Land of the Soviets' Exhibit"]

[Text] Rarely do you see people queued up before the visitors' logbook at the Manege. What had excited them? What had touched them or perhaps not touched them? Earlier you would have complained to yourself and gone into the street. But now you want to speak out. And so there is the belief that your opinion is of interest to someone, that it will be reckoned with. Why else should one write in the visitors' logbook? The visitors' logbook

is a document of time. It is a precise and very sensitive seismograph. But what kind of breaks are ahead? What tremors can be expected? Or will there be deep silence in the fine arts?

I will not assume the right to answer these questions? Let the viewer evaluate the exhibit with his own senses: he can see better. He sees with a thousand eyes. He does not choose his words out of politeness. He says what he likes and candidly rejects what is not according to his taste. He is not afraid of offending a venerable author. After all, he does not know who is a member of the academy, who is a secretary of the board, who is a people's [artist] or a meritorious [artist]. In his eyes, everyone who exhibited here is equal before the public and all the mores before time. And the criteria here are clear: honesty and mastery.

If you are a virtuoso with the brush but do not believe in your topic and have nothing to say, the viewer will sense this without fail. And conversely, for all your sincerity, for all your confessionals, you cannot do anything good if your artistry is weak.

But enough of the preamble. Let us get down to business and enter the Manege. The exhibit is dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. At the threshold you are thinking: topical, anniversary, festive. That is the usual stereotype that formed in years past when historical anniversaries were merely an excuse for loud fanfare.

The present day is different. And we observe the present anniversary differently: we have taken a stern, honest look at our history instead of turning away from what was bitter and unpleasant to remember. We have recalled not only the victories but also the mistakes...Because it is impossible to believe and lie at the same time. It is specifically this open, courageous approach by the party to history that has helped us all to understand our connection with the fate of generations and to feel the new purity of the words "the revolution continues."

It continues because we passionately desire the renewal of our country and the rebirth of the October Revolution's spiritual heritage. And because we recently attentively watched newsreel films on the television screen where Lenin was alive—without the touching luster on whose creation all artists, painters included, did a fair amount of work.

I will frankly state that at the "Land of the Soviets" exhibit, I did not find any Leniniana that would correspond to our present view of history. It seems to me that many works were unsuccessful primarily because the Lenin they depicted only outwardly resembled him—his powerful mind and the incredible complexity of his spiritual world were reduced to a simple scheme. **We are entitled to expect discoveries and not the mere multiplication of Leniniana.**

This multiplication exists in many works at the exhibit. A. Alekseyev paints Lenin in his study from which the Spasskiy-Tower clock can be seen. The picture is symbolically called "Time." But you do not feel Time—it is not there. There are clocks that are painstakingly painted. But the time that is to be measured is a matter of indifference to the clocks. The symbol becomes a popular formula and the subject becomes an illustration.

Ye. Samsonov's pictures "Lenin in Kashino" and V. Chepelik's group sculpture "Marie-Rose Street" are also illustrative. They are variations of what we have already seen and already know. And it is distressing that such variations at the exhibit are numerous. Can it be that members of the exhibit committee did not see Leniniana—the most important theme in our art—being devalued before their very eyes? Are quantitative criteria permissible here? Is it not time for us to think about the political consequences of such a plethora of mediocrity?

The presentation of the revolution theme at the exhibit was dull and customary. From the visitors' logbook: "The same old stereotypes. Boring." And it is difficult to add anything to this laconic opinion: it is sad when symbols that are dear to us are used to cover up creative impotence. Probably the only memorable things were the graphic works, especially S. Miklashevich's etchings: "October 1917"; these things were very faithful and sincere in the way they captured the anxious rhythm and their lines and in their contrasts of black and white. It was obvious that the artist had studied this era in depth and that he had resolved the theme not for the exhibit but on the basis of conscience and conviction. He found this time exciting and we, the viewers, cherish his excitement.

But here is A. Lopukhov's "Revolution." A truck full of revolutionary sailors, soldiers, and workers is racing across the Anichkov Bridge. Bayonets glisten, red calico is waving, people's faces are reflected, the rain is beating down, the horse's wet crupper gleams. The train of the artist's imagery is understandable. But the painting let us down and nullified the spirit of the picture. The result was one more school illustration. It is as if A. Deyneki's "Defense of Petrograd" and K. Petrov-Vodkin's "Death of a Commissar" did not exist.

Many such involuntary comparisons with Soviet classics arise at the exhibit and for the most part they do not favor modern artists. There are dashing horses in the pictures of V. Poltavets and K. Makharadze but can they be compared with Grekov's pictures? But they do not have the same passion and fury. The sin of illustrativeness hangs heavy over historical themes, merely denoting the events and remaining at the factual level.

They are usually mass scenes that do not demand extensive portraiture—it is enough to indicate the time with a red cobble bow, a budyenovka cap, or other attributes. This mob moves without faces, without character, without destinies from one picture to the next. I am prepared

to enumerate dozens of such canvases, but here are only several for example: N. and V. Rodionova's "To the Bolsheviks for Truth," N. Kuzybayev's "Proclamation of Soviet Power," A. Titarenko's "Selmashstroy," T. Togusbayev's "Turksib," G. Agasyan's "1920. The Red Army's Entry into Yerevan," and A. Zhabskiy's "Komsomol Agitator." Not all pictures are of equal artistic value, but their authors are equally remote from real history which is dramatic and contradictory. They are remote from understanding that time expresses itself most precisely in people's faces.

It must be said that the portrait is in general a weak place in our present art. Today there are few masters who, like Boris Kustodiyev or Pavel Korin, spent their entire life creating portrait galleries of their contemporaries. Nor were there many interesting portraits on exhibit at the Manege. Here, too, it is necessary to speak not only about the poverty of a genre, but about the fact that the modern theme remains not entirely revealed, just like the historical theme, which is associated with it specifically by the fates of people, by the spirituality that man—who is the expresser of his time—carries within him.

I do not speak of individual successes or failures, but about the exhibit as a whole because any thematic exhibit on such a scale claims to be an ensemble, a kind of anthology in which everything is subordinate to one grand design. It is possible to admire many works (and there are no few such works at the Manege!), but you come away from the exhibit disappointed because the creation of an exhibit is a vast creative effort, is an ideological design in which each individual work contributes (or fails to contribute) to the common idea. I repeat: at the exhibit there are examples of a high degree of mastery of painting technique and the sculpture and graphics, especially the Ukrainian and Latvian, and the Estonian applied arts were quite strong. I would like to support the previous principle under which exhibits were organized by republic, so that each ethnic school could be compared with the others. But I repeat that the exhibit is a supergenre that combines the will and aspirations of its creators into a common program, into a subject consisting of many series.

The theme of the October Revolution and Soviet primogeniture, the theme of social responsibility, the theme of the individual in the historical process are all directly connected to the concerns of our day, to the restructuring of thinking, and to the reevaluation of stable views. This is why so much interest is generated by historical readings and similar materials in newspapers and magazines. We want to learn about ourselves from the beginning. We want to be strengthened in our basic faith so that we can move forward confidently. This is why the wave of restructuring has with unprecedented intensity meant the need for public self-analysis and self-knowledge. This is why the truth about every stage in the 70-year period is so dear to us. Unfortunately the anniversary exhibit has no such core program and is not confined to a single

scenario. Hence the illustrativeness and the disconnectedness of thematic and temporal poles: here is the revolution and here is modern times.

We do not go to exhibits today merely for esthetic enjoyment. Time itself has politicized art and has placed publicistic tasks before it. This can be seen in the theater, in films, on the television screen, in literature, and, of course, in the newspapers. But, sad to say, it is difficult to see this at the Manege. Only a few works reflect to varying degrees the complex processes that are presently taking place in our society. We argue to the point of hoarseness, we do our utmost to seek truth, but at the exhibit everything is calm and restful. It does not inspire debate and the wind of restructuring is barely discernible in a few things. Yu. Vais painted a picture about the danger of spiritual leveling ("Discovery"); in his picture "Fellow Citizens," D. Aliyev protests against mindless consumerism; urgent youth problems are addressed by B. Kazakov ("Adolescence") and S. Bocharov ("Dances at the 'Innovator' Cultural Center"); D. Zhilinskiy and I. Obrosova devoted their canvases to the years of repression. There might be a few more examples...But we had expected an open discussion about our time. We wanted to see how and in what way the "revolution is continuing," how artists understand the moral essence of restructuring, what their conscience condemns and what it affirms. Of course, the beautiful landscapes, the lyrical scenes, the elegant still lifes all have their place at an exhibit. Nor do I reproach artists whose experience and creative individuality are best expressed in chamber works far removed from the burning issues of the day. But this is what the chief scenario writer—the exhibit committee is for—to see to it that measure is observed in all things; to think about the position, the moral vector of the exhibit, about that which the artists as a single creative union favor and are fighting for.

And after all, there are young passionate forces, there are those who are ready to fight for the ideals of restructuring, who thirst for the desecration of lies. But we found almost none of them at the Manege. You do not have to be afraid of the young. They speak not underground but openly, from the tribune.

Let us return to the visitors' logbook. The opinions vary but one thought prevails: the artists are lagging behind the demands of the time. We can no longer live according to the old canons and consider exhibits nothing more than the collective's report. The time has come for collective manifestos.

The All-Union Artists' Congress approaches. What will it say about this exhibit? What avenues will it take? What conclusions will it reach? If one always follows the plain, one will never scale the heights.

From the editors.

In publishing this article, the newspaper proposes to continue a wide-ranging discussion of the exhibit, which will generate conflicting opinions. The discussion is all the more necessary because it will take place on the eve of the forthcoming All-Union Artists' Congress. Our society is keenly affected by the successes and failures of the fine arts. It is for this reason that the editors invite the readers to take an active part in the discussion of the exhibit and the problems of the fine arts. We await your letters.

### Art Academician Defends 'Realism'

18000161 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in  
Russian 10 dec 87 p 4

[Article by V. Vanslov, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Arts: "Dullness Is Not the Only Danger"]

[Text] S. Razgonov's article "If One Follows the Plain..." (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 19 November 1987), devoted to the all-union art exhibit "Land of the Soviets," raises the important question of the fate of our contemporary fine arts and justly emphasized the need for creative discoveries and for high artistic quality in the depiction of modern times. The thrust of the article is directed against dullness, superficiality and the lack of initiative which if unusually fruitful and which threatens to flood what is genuine—the truthful and the sincere, the deep and the beautiful: artistic creativity.

There is no debate: such a danger exists in our art and it became quite apparent at our exhibit. Nor will I debate with the author regarding specific works of this type named by him—there might have been some points on which I would not have agreed with him. But the fact of the matter is that dullness is not the only danger to the development of art today. A false understanding of the freedom to create, which is manifested in unbridled subjectivism, in the repudiation of realistic traditions, in following the principles of avant-garde currents, and in the destruction of artistic form.

We have put an end to prohibitions, to substituting administrative methods for the creation of debatable questions and this is good. But what are the results? The exhibit showed that artists can do everything they please. There is unquestionably nothing higher and better than the freedom of creativity. But one must know how to use it. We are free of prohibitions but for what purpose, to what ends will this freedom be used? We must not only clearly understand this but must also realize this in practice.

For example, is it possible to consider works that are performed in the spirit of primitivism, that stupefy and brutalize people, that deliberately distort the objective world, and that imitate a child's directness of perception and artistic inability to be artistic discoveries and the full-blooded expression of modern times? At the same time, in the works of V. Bichevan, A. Martinaytis, M.

Mirdzhavadov, N. Bishchuk, E. Kalandadze, E. Zharenova, and others (I have deliberately named artists from the various republics), we encounter this kind of primitivism which pretends to originality of artistic forms but which is at least as far removed from true realism as superficial craft work even though it is performed in the traditional spirit.

Richness of associations is a sign of true art. But this richness increases in proportion to the depth of depiction of the subject and originates specifically on its basis. But when associations begin supplanting this depiction of the subject and artists count only on rhythm and vividness in themselves, the result in my opinion is artistically impoverished works that are close to abstractionism. Such are K. Akhmedov's "Apsheon," which resembles a drop of oil spreading through the water; O. Grechina's "Reminiscence About The Revolution," in which the onrush of color rhythms cannot offset the indeterminacy of the image itself; A. Gegelashvili's "Fall in the Mountains" in which the artist evidently wanted to picture land from the air but instead produced a combination of meaningless geometric figures.

At the exhibit, there are numerous works in which the artists strive for the symbolic expression of the present, which is in principle legitimate. But it is bad when the result is such extreme complexity and puzzling deliberateness in comparison with various subjects or phenomena that the work becomes a rebus that has to be deciphered (not always successfully). Examples: "The Cry" by T. Gotsadze; "Ecological Tragedy" by B. Dzhalalov; "The City" by G. Zautashvili, and others. Sometimes there is elemental poor taste as in N. Seleshchuk's "Summer" which depicts a vulgar, whimsically dressed girl.

I cannot but agree with the article's author that dull and contrived works at the exhibit outnumbered real works of art. But nevertheless, even if we take painting alone, the latter were not so few as suggested in the article. Certainly their number must include: "Clouds of 1945" by G. Korzhev—a picture full of inner silence and understanding of reflections of the last work in human destiny or the lyrical "My Quiet Homeland" by V. Sidorov. This number cannot fail to include new genre pictures by A. and S. Tkachev; the very thoughtful "Silence" by A. Mylnikov; the classically clear "Happiness" by L. Kirillova, and many others. Serious, sincere, and truthful works, even though not predominating among the exhibit's paintings, nevertheless occupy a worthy place at the exhibit.

And while lamenting that the portrait "is the weak point in our art of today," how could [he] fail to take note of the new portraits by T. Salakhov, T. Yablonskaya, A. Levitin, A. Nikich, and many others, that are not only deep in their content but are also high in their level of execution? Nor is it possible to ignore the penetrating

lyrical landscapes of A. Gritsay, E. Kalnynsh, P. Krylov, M. Kuprianov, Ye. Zverkov,...All this attests to the strength and viability of true realism.

In all our current debates, we must remember that conservative dullness and ultra-innovative avant-gardism, while seeming to be opposites, are in fact united by virtue of their alienation from true realism and their remoteness from penetrating the essence of reality. Consequently, the struggle for realism must be waged on two fronts: against dullness and against avant-gardist trends.

In the artistic community there are numerous discussions about the broad and narrow interpretation of realism. Without going into the various aspects of this complex problem, I shall merely note that breadth or narrowness in the interpretation of realism are connected with the problem of not only content but of form as well. Some consider realism to be only a content category while others, to the contrary, reduce it to form. Of course realism is the truth of life in art. But it is specifically in art, i.e., not independent of but rather connected with artistic form. Truthful content can result only from the corresponding means, i. e., truthful (not just any, random) artistic means. What should we understand the forms of realism to mean? I believe they are what N. Chernyshevskiy called "forms of life." Some fear this term in the belief that forms of life are only visual substantive forms. But why, then, narrow their meaning? Forms of life are not only visual forms of the physical world but are also forms of human relations, processes in the development of reality, and people's thoughts and feelings. The realistic form is the truthful form, i.e., the form of truthful content.

The lie that sometimes penetrates artistic form has different causes but always harms content. Artists sometimes follow the fashion, develop a fancy for techniques borrowed from the visual mass media: photography, films, television, and advertising art. Possibly some individual discoveries in composition in photography and television can be used in painting, but the one-sided and excessive absorption with them is often unjustified and become a fad. How frequently does the so-called television color appear in pictures. How often is the image indistinct or, to the contrary, exceedingly sharp. How often is the image that of a videocassette or a slide, etc. The result is falsity that wounds or kills the color that is the very soul of a painting. The same result is produced by aniline dyes, spray paints, photoprojections, and other mechanical means. All this is detrimental to the viability of artistic form and through it the content of the image.

From the foregoing, it follows that the realism concept should not be artificially narrowed or expanded. It is of sufficient scale, depth, breadth, and volume to accommodate innovative art forms. It is also sufficient definite

to draw a flexible but precise boundary between true realism (no matter how innovative it might be) and the modernistic bleeding of art and the destruction of art forms.

There are art historians and critics who have devoted their entire life to Soviet art but have never once used the term "socialist realism" because this term has been compromised by the fact that it sometimes been used as a coverup for bad things: to propagandize bad works and condemn good works. But vulgarizers can compromise anything whatsoever and socialist realism will bear no responsibility for this. Such facts have expressed its distortion rather than its essence. This is essentially the main concept of creativity that embodies all the best in our art. But the point is naturally not to repeat it in vain but to actually stand firmly on the positions of socialist realism in artistic practice, i.e., to fight for genuine and deep truth in art in all its vital fullness.

#### Readers Express Disappointment

18000161 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in  
Russian 10 Dec 87 p 4

Article by V. Klyuyev, programmer; amateur artist:  
"The Same Old Names"]

[Text] Finally, the "rank" of an exhibit does not preclude looking directly at what is exhibited. And in my opinion, the time has long ago come to remove the rose-colored glasses from art criticism. I have a comment that could be added to the printed criticism. The comment is addressed to so-called "venerable" artists: does not their "venerability" lead to their repetitiveness? Naturally, it is a good thing when an artist's work is recognized, when the author's signature can be seen. But there have to be reasonable limits. However, time after time, the Manege exhibits standard albeit good-quality products that are every time practically indistinguishable from one another.

Not so long ago I read in the exhibit catalog of one of our artists that his creative experience lies not in the discovery of techniques but in the fact that every new work requires new techniques and new experience. I think that art is here and that the rest is working with colors. The latest exhibit at the Manege did not satisfy me and I do not want to go there a second time. I have even less desire to see the next exhibit where the same names will be over exactly the same works as today even if they are not "Morning," "Day," and "Evening" but "Spring," "Summer," and "Autumn."

Kostroma. Up until now, I wondered why so few people my age—those who are not yet 30—attend art exhibits. But the last exhibit at the Manege surprisingly supplied the answer. Why do we look in a mirror? We see ourselves as we are today. Some things please us, others gnaw at our heart. When you go through the Manege, the experience barely touches your soul.

The pictures on the walls at the "Land of Soviets" exhibit could be stills from an old film created by the same mediocre producer. The costuming is there, the stage sets are there, and the props are there. But when the film was made and who was filmed are a riddle. Almost everyone is outside time, outside pain, outside the spiritual searches of contemporaries.

The only exception is those works that describe the years of repressions, but even here there are no special discoveries—today this can be exhibited.

But the time around us! What a time! But at the exhibit, its signs are practically indistinguishable. And the viewers are for the most part calm: there are no debates because there is nothing to debate about. Can it be that problems of time are not for painters? How does it happen that masters of the fine arts do not keep pace with literature, with films, to say nothing of newspaper and magazine publicists? Or was everything topical, urgent, and polemical kept off the Manege's walls because the exhibit's organizers were not pleased in some way? And did the inertial habit of exhibition "order" win the upper hand?

I repeat: man cannot fail to be interested in what happens to him. He expects the artist to help him with his self-analysis and to determine his own position. And here every type of art has its own "levers" for influencing man's soul. Music cannot take the place of literature; newspaper publicists cannot take the place of painting. As yet there is no unified spiritual front of art's struggle for man.

Now regarding the revolutionary topic. I cannot get rid of the feeling of seeing something familiar many times over: the subjects, the composition, the types.

Life has not been easy for our parents and for their parents. Their lives were difficult. Sometimes they were hungry and cold. Not everyone came back. Not only from the front. The Homeland, the 70-year path under the banner of October, and today's renewal have become monuments to the fallen and the living, to those who fought and built. Where are they—the soldiers and the workers? Where is my young mother who had so many splinters in her fingers during the war from inspecting shells as to attract a magnet? Where are her female friends and present teacher colleagues who were able to tell their pupils the truth even in those times that were adverse to doing so? And where are we ourselves—the ones who are under 30?

The exhibit was traditional in the worst sense of the word. Once again the names of the meritorious ones, the prize-winners... But where are the young? I am interested in knowing how artists my age view life and its changes. I want to see my anxieties, the things that excite me, and my expectations through their eyes. I would believe them.

And everyone is surprised that the young people run to the Arbat and Bittsa. They go there specifically because they can communicate with the world there, show themselves, that is, they can live. There they are allowed to do so.

The leading art figures probably did not permit talented youth to participate in the exhibit for fear of losing their viewers. Student friends brought me S. Razgonov's article. We are glad that your newspaper has convincingly and accurately described everything that excited us.

05013

### SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Lists Popular Contributors

18000156a SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian  
31 Dec 87 p 1

[Unattributed Article: "Readers Chose the Best"]

[Text] Among all the articles published in 1987, the greatest number of responses were elicited by materials from the following authors:

A. Aleksin, V. Astafyev, Yu. Afanasyev, M. Akhmedova, V. Baskov, A. Batalov, Yu. Bondarev, F. Burlatskiy, A. Butenko, K. Vanshenkin, I. Vasilyev, G. Gerasimov, S. Govorukhin, A. Goncharov, A. Grebnev, M. Dudin, I. Dyakov, Ye. Yevtushenko, V. Kisunko, A. Kosinskiy, V. Krupin, Yu. Nagibin, D. Oldridge (Great Britain), G. Petrov, S. Prodev (Bulgaria), V. Rasputin, V. Rzhnevskiy (TASS correspondent in Prague), A. Svobodin, V. Serikov, Ye. Surkov, P. Tolochko, V. Tolstykh, M. Tolts, M. Ulyanov, L. Ustinov, D. Firsova, S. Freylikh, A. Chego-dayev, E. Cheporov (APN correspondent in New York)

From the heart we congratulate and thank all the authors for their fruitful assistance to the newspaper. We hope that our collaboration will continue in the coming year as well.

Happy New Year, friends!

12255

### Reader Scores Party Criticism of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA

18000156b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA  
in Russian 31 Dec 87 p 6

[Letter by I. Kotlyar, candidate of philosophical sciences, docent of the Department of Scientific Communism, Brest Pedagogical Institute, Brest: "Who Your Enemy Is..."]

[Text] Two circumstances confirmed my inclination to write you a letter. Above all, I would like to say a few words of thanks for the improved quality of the newspaper. Three, five, and seven years ago, I tried to read it regularly—with no success, since it was uninteresting. But I read it now. I have subscribed to it for the first time.

The other reason is more serious. SOVETSKAYA KULTURA is beginning to be criticized in the party and soviet apparatus.

The fact that they criticize it is completely natural. The question is, what are they accusing the newspaper of and what do these critics want.

I have heard that at one of the ideological conferences the chairman said: "If we do not improve the work with people, then public opinion will be formed by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA". This was at a conference. And what do they say in ordinary conversations? To orient cadres toward the notion that SOVETSKAYA KULTURA is a hindrance to the process of educating the Soviet people and shaping their social and political views—this is a conscious step, an expression of displeasure with the position it has taken during the period of restructuring.

Many people especially do not like the fact that the newspaper has sharpened the question of the attitude of party, soviet, and business organs toward questions of cultural construction, toward the development of culture as a whole.

But some questions could be asked: Are there really so few shortcomings in their work? Have there really been changes for the better in the attitude toward questions of developing culture? In the majority of places, the attitude is still the same as it was before. I am convinced that the newspaper is still not writing enough on this topic, that it would be better to increase the public exposure of leaders at various levels who continue to regard questions of culture as matters of secondary importance.

Many people do not like the articles under the rubric "Problems, Discussions." In my opinion, on the contrary, the materials under this rubric have increased the newspaper's authority. They talk about them, they discuss them. The materials under this rubric, and the newspaper as a whole, are in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress concerning glasnost, the fight against stagnation, and the necessity to speak the truth.

Who are the people who criticize the newspaper for these positions?

As a rule, they are the people who are used to controlling things without taking into account public opinion; they are those who wallowed in corruption during the time of stagnation; those (in ideological establishments) who would find it easier to give lectures to people, under conditions of the absence of glasnost and open discussion of negative phenomena and incidents; those who have never taken problems of cultural construction seriously, and now do not intend to restructure; and those who have set their own personal interests, or the interests

of their stratum, above the interests of society. Yes, during the years of stagnation, things were good for some people, but they were bad for society, bad for our culture.

They are cunning and have a great deal of experience: they catch the journalists in isolated slipups, and they try to draw major conclusions from it, they can accuse the newspaper of willfully distorting the truth, of lacking patriotism, and so forth.

In their opinion, the 1930s were basically years of industrialization and other great transformations, and the cult of personality was a minor detail. And the fact that this "minor detail" promoted the partial disintegration of the system fathered by Great October—this, in their opinion, is not so, and it should not be permitted to talk to the people about this.

But what about the lessons of the truth, which were talked about so vigorously at the 27th Party Congress?

The people need the truth... And these accusations prove that SOVETSKAYA KULTURA is helping to establish it.

12255

### Problems Facing Independent "Experimental Art" Group Viewed

18000156c Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 24 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by M. Tokareva: " 'We Don't Have Time For Them' Is, Unfortunately, the Opinion of Leaders of the Artists' Union"; first two paragraphs are *Leningradskaya Pravda* introduction]

[Text] In a hall on the Okhta, an exhibit is now open showing the works of members of the Fellowship of Experimental Graphic Arts, an artistic association which grew up spontaneously.

And, having taken shape, this phenomenon spawned a multitude of very conflicting groups. Meanwhile, like any new movement—although on examination much in the Fellowship turns out not to be new at all—it needs to draw attention to itself.

### 1. From Apartment to the Harbor

At different times, they have been written about in different ways. In the 1970s they were unanimously castigated, accused of artistic anarchy, anti-estheticism, and hack work. Then the tone of the criticism became more evenhanded, but the number of labels did not diminish. And only in recent times have articles appeared in which attempts at benevolent and objective evaluation were undertaken.

At different times, they have had different sorts of viewers. One might suggest, paraphrasing the well-known saying, that artists have the public that they deserve. Among those who stood in the kilometer-long lines to the first exhibits of the artists who had right away been called "avante garde" were those who above all else were attracted to the atmosphere of semi-forbidden activity, who were looking for a particular "subtext" in the works displayed, who by the mere fact of their presence there were striving to join in some kind of "elite culture." Serious interest in art, in this case, was always accompanied by the hoopla surrounding the fashionable phenomenon, just like talented works in an exposition are surrounded by things which were created "as needed." But time has passed, and although the exhibits of the "avante garde" have more and more become not an extraordinary event but a natural component of the city's cultural life, interest in them did not disappear. And now today it is permissible to draw this conclusion: this interest is well-founded and not passing.

At different times they have even been called different things. At first the term "Neva gas culture" arose (in accordance with the names of the houses of culture which gave shelter to the first expositions). Later, it was the Fellowship of Experimental Exhibits—FEE. And then, from 1981 up to the present time—the Fellowship of Experimental Graphic Arts—FEGA.

From the first "apartment" exhibit of the Fellowship on Bronnitskaya Street to the vast exposition in one of the pavilions of the Harbor [Gavan] last winter—it is a long road which the members of FEGA and their public have traveled. Along this road, some questions have been resolved, but other ones have arisen—no less pointed ones. And today, when so much has changed in the very atmosphere of our lives, the time has come to resolve them as well.

## 2. Who Is Who

In order to better represent what FEGA is, it is necessary to understand who it unites and on what foundations. Without pretending to an all-encompassing characterization, let us merely note a few of the essential, in our view, traits of their collective portrait.

Although the Fellowship is traditionally usually regarded as an association of young artists, and exhibits of FEGA just as traditionally take place in the Palace of Youth once a year, a significant portion of its members are not young people at all. Their age varies within the limits of 20 to 50 years old, and people of 35 to 40 years old set the tone in the FEGA.

Up to 200 artists sometimes participate in the large exhibits of the association, but 120 individuals are permanent members of the Fellowship. There exists an FEGA Charter, which was adopted at the first general meeting.

Its first principle runs as follows: "For the members of FEGA, all directions in art are of equal worth." In fact, there are no stylistic limitations: the association includes people whose creative quests may be developed in the traditions of primitivism, academicism, or surrealism. In short, one can meet there artists who declare their allegiance to any directions and styles: from strict realism to "graffiti drawings," from inexpensive prints to pop art. Without evaluating here the artistic merits of the works of various members of the Fellowship, let us merely say that objectivity demands we acknowledge that among them there are both talented people and not-so-talented people, and there are also those for whom the main thing is not creative work at all, but the bravado of their "alienation."

The wide range is easily explained. After all, for membership in FEGA, as the charter says, "educational qualifications make no difference." More than half of the members of the Fellowship have secondary or higher artistic education, but the others do not have any sort of specialized education.

The very name of the FEGA indicates that the people united in it are occupied with experiments in the field of graphic arts. But in terms of the nature of their occupations, they are, as a rule, not artists. Among them there are engineers, there are art experts, but more than half of the people from the Fellowship work as stokers, watchmen, or elevator operators, taking on the type of job which leaves time for creative work, though at a minimal wage. If one keeps all this in mind, it becomes understandable why the artists of the Fellowship have an extremely painful reaction to having the term "amateurs" applied to them.

It is important to know all of the foregoing in order to assess the social seriousness of the situation. Before us are not boys just finding their places in life, but full-grown adults who are in a not at all simple nor advantageous position, but are consciously continuing to remain in it. To take the view that no difficulties exist in this position is impossible today.

## 3. What Is Permitted to Jupiter...

The Fellowship periodically exhibits its works. This right is not regulated by anyone, but is implicitly acknowledged. Some people, such as, for example, the officials in the Palace of Youth, acknowledge it grudgingly. Others, such as, for example, the officials of the Directorate of Museums of the oblast, have a more understanding attitude. One way or another, the works of the members of the Fellowship are shown to the public.

It is true that far from everything here has proceeded smoothly during the years of existence of the Fellowship: someone was not admitted, someone's works were taken down, arguments with the city artistic council became the rule. In short, hullabaloo and conflict situations preceded almost all of the FEGA exhibits. And only last

winter at the exhibit in the Harbor and, perhaps, at this one—the Okhta exhibit—were practically all of the works submitted by participants shown.

This—the possibility of reaching the public (which is a great deal in itself)—is currently the extent of the rights of the FEGA.

The Fellowship arose on the initiative of its participants themselves, and continues to exist all by itself, not under any person. The Fellowship is taken into account to the extent that its demands (to exhibit, to show its works) are collective, but to this date, everyone has successfully avoided solving its problems; they have not thought about future prospects, and, in general, in the attitude toward the FEGA, the inertia of past decades largely continues to operate.

In the meantime, alongside we also see other examples of dealing with spontaneously forming associations and their problems. The Fellowship is one of the three very first and now already oldest associations of this type in the city. The fate of the other two has basically been decided. The House of Independent Creativity invited the rock musicians under its roof, forming a rock club. The literary people of "Club-81" exist as an experimental association under the Leningrad Writers' Organization. Both these and other people have thus acquired a fully defined status, and besides this a constant contact with professionals. And only the Fellowship, being acknowledged neither as amateurs nor as professionals, is left "hanging in the air."

#### 4. To Appreciate or To "Destroy"

This situation, a kind of general social fate of the members of the FEGA has given rise to processes within the Fellowship which have little in common with creative work. The artists "survive" in various ways—each one however he can. Let us merely recall the two polarized types of vital behavior which determine the day-to-day life of the FEGA.

One of these is the artists who, despite everything and everybody, continue to work. There are many such, and among them there are seriously talented people. Their creative work is the most effective argument in favor of the FEGA.

But the picture would not be objective if we remain silent about another type of people who also go to form the FEGA. Among them are individuals who have taken on themselves the labor of "forcing a path" for the interests of the Fellowship in various establishments and instances. It would seem to be a noble cause, but there is also a danger here—for some of these people, creative interests are gradually relegated to a secondary position, while striving for leadership comes to the forefront. "Agents" of this type so selflessly pour themselves into

their role that if—just imagine for a moment—all the demands of the FEGA were satisfied, they would have to look for a new career for themselves.

These people also appear in the role of their own brand of managers, striving to control the hidden levers of influence on the life of the FEGA. They are, as one says, "in." And not only in the doors of Soviet establishments. From time to time they secretly set up apartment exhibits-sales with the participation of a narrow circle of selected artists and buyers with foreign citizenship. Such events not only heat up the atmosphere from within, they also establish a covert subordination in the Fellowship, and antagonism is increasing among various groups of people in the FEGA: "Mit'ki" and "Island [Ostrov]," "Neofauvists [Novyye dikiye]," and "Group 14 [Gruppa 14]."

If this were eliminated and the fate of the Fellowship resolved, then its members would naturally take their appropriate places in the hierarchy of artistic values, and not any other sort of values. And this in turn would make it possible to evaluate the creative work of members of the FEGA in a completely nonpreconceived manner.

Now it is time to talk about something which in our view has a particularly unhealthy effect on the creative makeup of the Fellowship. It is practically devoid of objective critical assessment, of a rigorous, but benevolent, professional opinion.

For years it has been acceptable to castigate the FEGA. This turned out to be both easy and safe: the criticism slipped smoothly from the realm of professional critique into the realm of "scolding," using established labels.

Today times have changed. But even today voices are heard urging the necessity of "standing guard over professional culture," and therefore rejecting indiscriminately everything which has been created outside the Artists' Union. But for critics to stand guard over professional culture means, above all else, to analyze the cultural process as a whole, without exceptions and "forbidden zones" (since modern artistic practice makes this entirely possible) and just as important, without a "truncheon," used to smash to the left and the right. In response to some dozens of exhibits of the Fellowship held in recent years, there have been only a handful of reviews with an analysis of specific works. But to make up for this, there was a completely adequate supply of "attacks" having nothing to do with well-founded arguments.

Meanwhile, an objective view with regard to the Fellowship is needed. This means criticism which is truly rigorous, which would help to separate the wheat from the chaff, creative work from charlatanism, the genuine from imitations—and would also thus confirm the fact that there is something creatively viable in the FEGA. There are critics in the Leningrad Organization of the RSFSR Artists' Union who are prepared to cooperate

with the Fellowship on this basis. This was confirmed by a "round table" devoted to the problems of the Fellowship which just took place in the Leningrad Organization of the RSFSR Artists' Union. It turned out, however, that critics' willingness to go halfway to meet the FEAGA is still far from adequate.

### 5. The Union Against the Fellowship?

It seems natural, keeping in mind everything which has been said above, to make use of the experience of the Leningrad Writers' Organization and make the Fellowship an experimental association under the Leningrad Organization of the RSFSR Artists' Union, thus "legalizing" it. For the 2000-member Leningrad Organization of the RSFSR Artists' Union to add on another roughly 200 individuals on a sponsorship basis would seem, organizationally, not so very difficult: there would be room...

It would seem that both sides would ultimately benefit from this union with the creative Union—could it really be of no interest to venerable professionals to establish permanent contacts with those who are not like other people, with artists who are thinking originally? To say nothing of the value of such contacts for the Fellowship—various types of speculation on the "leftishness" of the FEAGA would be stopped. A great deal would be set in order.

But the presidium of the board of the Leningrad Organization of the RSFSR Artists' Union, the main organ of its leadership, after examining the question at the last regular meeting, voted "against," thus withdrawing completely from solving the problem.

How can this be explained? One might suggest that the artists who are members of the Leningrad Organization of the RSFSR Artists' Union see in the activities of the FEAGA a certain source of hoopla which is incompatible with the serious service of art, that behind the smoke of sensationalism (which, incidentally, is bitter for many of the FEAGA) it is impossible to distinguish genuinely praiseworthy works... Sometimes, probably, this is so. But nevertheless the true reasons are rooted in something deeper—in the current makeup of the Leningrad Organization of the RSFSR Artists' Union.

"Right now we don't have any time for them," said Ye. D. Maltsev, chairman of the Painting Section, explaining the presidium's position. "We have our own problems to solve. We are unable to take on a burden like the FEAGA."

At the same time, today there has been talk from the highest forums concerning the necessity for creative unions to take on themselves responsibility for young people, for those who are just beginning their path in art. To help them, to support them, to be by their sides...

People will answer us back: many of the people in the Fellowship are not young at all. Yes, and we have already mentioned this. But they are just beginning, if only because they were until still quite recently "separate" and unacknowledged, whereas now people are trying to understand them. And who, if not the professionals, should take that step to meet the association?

"The members of the Leningrad Organization of the RSFSR Artists' Union have become unused to outside competition," said critic M. D. Izotova. "They have gotten too used to a peaceful existence. And so they don't want to allow any "outsiders" into their territory—not all professionals are prepared for comparisons, and after all they will arise, even if involuntarily..."

The question remains open. But it must be answered. The FEAGA must be put into conditions under which it can be made clear who in it is an artist and who is merely an incidental person.

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### Tajik Sciences Academy Issues Volume On Afghan Folklore

18300112 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA  
in Russian 15 Jan 88 p 4

[Article by TadjhikTA correspondent O. Sobolev: "Afghan Folklore Being Studied"]

[Text] The Institute of Language and Literature of the Tajik Academy of Sciences has undertaken publication of a collection of "Examples of the Folklore of the Afghan Tajiks." The Donish Publishing House is preparing its release for the upcoming 10th anniversary of the April Revolution in Afghanistan.

The book, 10 printer's sheets in length, consists of texts of fairy tales and legends, riddles, proverbs and sayings, couplets and songs. Senior Scientific Associate of the Institute and Candidate in Philological Sciences D. Obidov compiled and prepared them for publication.

"Afghan folklore," says the scholar, "up to the present time has been relatively unknown. There are not enough scholars to study it. The joint research program undertaken by folklorists of the Tajik and Afghan Academies of Sciences will help to fill the gap in the study of the culture of the people. A special group of scholars was created in our institute to coordinate these studies."

Linguists of both countries are now engaged in the creation of a folklore fund of the Dari-speaking peoples of Afghanistan. A whole treasury of samples of the oral folk art of the Afghans is already compiled. Several anthologies were prepared and published in the process of studying them.

A solid basis has been formed for cooperation in this sphere: from several decades of work with samples of oral folk art, "A Collection of Tajik Folklore" was created by Tajik scholars in 35 volumes, 2 of which have already been issued by the Moscow Nauka Publishing House. Recently, the works of Tajik Academy of Sciences Academician R.A. Amonov, "Folk Quatrains" and "Artistic Symbolism," created out of

material from Tajik folklore, were sent to the Kabul Publishing House.

The program of cooperation also envisages assisting our Afghan colleagues in training qualified linguists, creating within the Afghan Academy of Sciences a corresponding subdivision, and organizing joint expeditions to compile materials and joint scholarly publications of folklore.

## IZVESTIYA Readers, Jurists Differ on Crime Reporting

PM211025 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Dec 87  
Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Response": "The Last Page in a Criminal Case File"—passages within slantlines published in bold face]

[Text] "The problems raised in Yu. Feofanov's article are very topical. Similar trials also took place here, in Istrinskiy Rayon. The point is that, in today's conditions, it is very easy to slander a leader. We handle millions, but cannot buy some cheap equipment for the sports hall. For example, it became necessary to mislead the Soviet authorities in order to obtain funds for the construction of a leisure base at the Istrinskoye water reservoir. Had we stuck to the letter of the instructions nothing would have gotten done." (Plant Director B. Drozdik).

This reply touches upon and seems to confirm two very important problems, closely interlinked in so-called "economic cases." The criminal persecution of enterprising leaders when they are legally innocent. And the right of these leaders to be independent in their affairs, their right to run economic risks.

These were in fact the problems that provided the basis for an opinion poll in connection with the article "The Last Page in a Criminal Case File" (IZVESTIYA No. 339). Those polled included "ordinary" readers of the newspaper and officials from law enforcement agencies. Specialists from the Institute for Sociological Studies (V. Davydchenkov, M. Gasanaliyev, N. Grigoryev, Ye. Zakaraya, and V. Rodionov) polled workers, kolkhoz members, employees, pensioners, students, and housewives from different age groups.

The geographical scope of our telephone and questionnaire poll was also pretty representative: Moscow, Leningrad, Ashkhabad, Tbilisi, Kaunas, Kazan, Omsk, Chita, Gorkiy, Ukmerge, Sverdlovsk—a total of 28 republic, oblast, and rayon centers, city-type settlements, and rural settlements.

/What is your opinion of IZVESTIYA'S critical material about law enforcement agencies?/ This was the first question on the questionnaire. The following table shows the percentage split of opinions.

	"Ordinary" Readers	Jurists
1. Critical material enhances the responsibility of law enforcement organs	69.0	26.0
2. It undermines the authority of the administration of justice	7.0	67.0

And so, the table gives an idea of the distribution of forces. These figures do not, however, give grounds for any conclusion about an implacable opposition between

the "sides." After all, the 26 percent of jurists who voted "in favor of criticism" show that one in four rises above the "honor of the uniform."

And it would be useful for journalists to take note of a remark by investigator M. Shapochkin from Leningrad Oblast. "What we need," he writes, "is more objectivity and competence and less subjective conclusions, otherwise there will be a buildup of mistrust in law enforcement agency officials among the people." This is why we must not flatter ourselves with the fact that 69 percent of polled readers are convinced that IZVESTIYA'S critical material enhances the responsibility of law enforcement agencies. There are still 7 percent of "ordinary" people who feel solidarity with the jurists who are concerned about the undermining of the authority of the administration of justice as a result of material published by the press. The opinion of these 7 percent must be accepted as objective, or at least unaffected by departmentalism. "Critical material published in the press produces only partial changes and does not eliminate the causes and the mechanism of mistakes." This was expressed by one in six. It also represents a demand made of press organs, and a highly serious one at that: Do not deal in quantity but in quality and consistency.

K. Zhandybayev, the hero of "The Last Page," was found innocent, but he was deprived of his freedom for 2 years. What is the readers' attitude toward this extraordinary case? /Why was the court unable to make an objective decision?/

The most important cause, in the opinion of those polled, was the pressure exerted on law enforcement agencies, including the court, by persons with a vested interest (in Zhandybayev's conviction). The court was either unwilling or unable to investigate the kolkhoz chairman's case.

Here are a few letters.

"I fully agree with the author's postscript: 'Each of these persons must be responsible, there must be responsibility in respect of every unjust sentence,' and this responsibility must be not to superiors who could cover up or apply the brakes, but to the public and the law, which must be particularly strict with justice officials." (A woman kolkhoz member from Kalinin Oblast).

"Why does our press report only the cases of those who are punished. More must be said about people who have suffered without cause in order to restore their honest names. Broad glasnost is needed here more than anywhere else." (M. Reydiyboym, VUZ lecturer).

In this case, according to an employee from Moscow (28 years old), "the culprits must suffer punishment not for exerting pressure on judicial and investigative organs but for complicity in the perpetrated crime." This view is shared by 74 percent of the polled readers.

Could an attorney start work from the moment of detention? Investigators are categorically against this. In their opinion, this would interfere with the secrecy of investigation. And yet, some rank and file militia staffers disagree. An attorney, in their opinion, is as much a defender of a citizen's legitimate rights as any other law enforcement agency official. Of course, an attorney is not "like any other." In principle, however, this view on the part of militia staffers can only please.

And here is the opinion of "ordinary" readers. Some 77 percent of them gave an affirmative answer to the question of whether attorneys could defend citizens' interests from the moment of detention.

The second major problem on which we asked our readers to express an opinion was /the correlation between legality and expediency./ This problem has been the subject of arguments at all stages of socialist building. V.I. Lenin gave unconditional priority to legality. Let us emphasize: /To legality./

But things have changed somewhat with the passage of time. "Legality" in economic cases started being taken to mean the regime instituted by departmental instructions and directives. This is why, as the poll showed, the position of economic managers gave rise to acute discussion. And this primarily affects the bringing of legal norms into line with new economic practices.

Every leader must have the right to run economic risks. This enables him, relying on the law, to be bolder in solving production tasks, according to 34 percent of those who replied to the questionnaire. But almost as many readers—32 percent—share a different opinion: "Just like before, leaders will look over their shoulders before they act," while one in six declares: "Leaders have been taught not to take risks, and they themselves will be unwilling to take advantage of their rights."

"We need socialist enterprise. A leader's work must be assessed according to end results. Competent and firm leaders have always been prepared to take risks. The passing of new acts will untie the hands of those who hesitate." (K. Almantas, engineer, Kaunas). This opinion is shared by 38 percent of those who replied.

Readers and specialists also perceive another aspect of the problem. Economic leaders most frequently attribute breaches of the law to production necessity. But could it be used to justify breaches of the law? Of course, very few of those polled advocate total license. Even so, however, the majority of readers (68 percent) are on the side of leaders who are prepared to break the law in the interest of the cause rather than on the side of those who would observe it under any circumstances. (Let us emphasize yet again: Many take the term "law" to mean ministerial, state plan, and financial circulars and instructions). Some 45 percent of law enforcement agency officials also side with the first category of leaders. But the majority of them are staffers of institutions

which do not deal with such matters (militiamen, criminal investigation inspectors, and others), while those who institute and prosecute cases involving these leaders (prosecutors, investigators) are unanimous: "The law must not be broken under circumstances."

We have already said that the majority of jurists believe that press material undermines the authority of the administration of justice. Very often a newspaper seeks to cover "sensational cases," and it has become customary for law enforcement agency officials to be mentioned in a newspaper only in negative terms. In their view, it is necessary to have a balance, just like in the coverage of all other matters—it is also necessary to let everyone know about the positive processes of real restructuring in law enforcement agencies and to report front-ranking experiences.

And yet, "ordinary" readers and economic managers believe that the main cause of the sentencing of people like Zhandybayev is the prevailing mutual protection between local authorities and law enforcement agencies. This is why the most important factor of law enforcement agencies' independence must be primarily the new cadres policy which (in parallel with effective supervision by prosecutor's office organs) will prevent them being infiltrated by unprincipled, incompetent, and dishonest people.

### **Journalist Calls For Better Care For Homeless Children**

*18300047 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 27 Oct 87 p 4*

[Article by A. Sergeyev, "Lost Children?"]

[Text] Yuriy Altufyev was found by a metro entrance. He was blue with cold and so emaciated that, at age two and a half, he weighed about six kilograms. However, the doctors who treated Yuriy only approximately established his age later on. They gave him his last name after the name of the road where the children's halfway house, run by the Moscow gorispolkom Main Administration for Internal Affairs, is located. There Yuriy learned to speak his first words and for the first time he saw a stream of warm water, gushing out from a faucet into the clean pottery of a sink.

The fate of this little boy is not exclusive. There they are—bare-shaven little kids—gulping down soup from little metal bowls, then clumsily eating cutlets and drinking stewed fruit. Then they walk in formation to the bedroom. At first, many of them were frightened by the white color of the sheets and refused to lie down on the beds. They understand: this way, in formation, is better than on broken bottle glass, than among constantly drunk, ragged, shouting people. Yet, all the same, why in formation?

We came in as a group and the door slammed shut behind us. The guardians' shoulder-boards sparkle. It is very clean and quiet. One cannot compare it to other homes, from which children are taken away and brought here. Still, why are there locks, why the uniforms?

"Well... just what is the purpose of your report?," Sergey Leonidovich Konenkov, deputy chief of the children's halfway house, asked us. "Some write that 'the soccer field and children's playground are surrounded with wire...'"

We could feel how difficult and unpleasant it was for him to say this. From his office window, a soccer field, children's playground and the alarm wire on the fence were actually visible.

"In Leningrad, there are still bars on the windows of an institution just like this one," Konenkov said bitterly and looked at us point-blank.

So then, why are there bars? Why the fence and alarm system?

Natasha was arrested near her own doorway. This happened two months after she had escaped from a special PTU. She will have to return to the special PTU. Right now this fate hardly disturbs her, but quite recently she was prepared to do anything if it would help her to escape. "Were you the one who cut her vein, silly girl?," a guardian asked Natasha. She let go of Natasha's wrist. "No," said the guardian. "It was not you. You pretended to be insane." This is true. She herself admits:

"I threw a fit—I did not want to go to school."

We talked with Natasha and she reservedly, without elaborating, told us of her fate. At age thirteen she drank vodka for the first time. In school she behaved loosely: "I could smoke in any class." Soon the matter progressed to criminal acts: "Some of the kids and I robbed a tobacco stand." At first, she was set to a special school, then a special PTU. There, in the Urals, she came down with asthma. She ran away from the hospital. How she got from those distant parts to Moscow without money, she did not say—it is a secret...

Far from all of those who end up in the children's halfway house are ready for such decisive acts, yet many are: anything at all, provided that it gets them out of here. Later, having grown wiser through their experiences in special regimented institutions, they begin to realize that the children's halfway house is not the most terrible place. Natasha no longer tries to escape from here—she will be sixteen soon and the time is not far off when she will receive the right to independently manage her own fate. Meanwhile, she has been entrusted to form up the little girls to go the library.

"Line up, quickly!," she muttered, not looking at anyone. "I am talking to you."

Shoes shuffling, they went off in awkward formation to read books.

"Indeed, they would run off in a moment if we took away the fence and wire!," exclaimed Konenkov.

The children's halfway house is only a gathering point. It is merely a stop along the way. According to law, children from 3 to 18 years old can stay here for no more than 30 days. They are taken away on different paths, they part in different ways. Why is there wire? Why are there locks, shoulder-boards and walking in formation? Yet this is understandable: in a regimented institution, subordinate to the internal affairs agencies, there can be no other way, the more so since the children who end up here are not particularly obedient. Most of the girls have lost their innocence. Many are ill. They are now given the Wassermann test, and soon they will also be tested for AIDS. Some of them had been with men for money. Most of the boys are guilty of more than one criminal act. Several are addicted to alcohol, narcotics and toxic substances. Their rescuers are the experienced glance of a policeman, who spots their restless figures in the Babylonian crowds of the railroad stations, or the rough hands which catch them by the collars in the dusty haze of basements. There is no doubt of that. But why are they then sent here?

The answer to this question is as sad as it is simple.... The route leads from drunken fathers and mothers, from the corrupting streets to the halfway house, then to a special school, then a special PTU, then... In the visiting room of an "adult" prison, I spoke with an intelligent, nice boy who had followed this path. "I studied in a special school, but not the kind with an English bias!," he grinned bitterly, finishing the story of how he had beseeched the director of a normal school to take him in. "I am sorry," the director said, "I cannot, you yourself should understand that!" He quickly assimilated this and realized: there is no reverse course—and with redoubled effort he threw himself forward, into stealing wheels from "Zhigulis," spending money on drink, etc. Who does not remember such childish, youthful bravado: "Well, so what? Who cares!"

Our children pay on our account.

Formally, we are not punishing them by mixing them in special closed institutions, but in reality we are condemning them to the very same fate as that of criminals. After all, this is how it turns out: criminal adults find freedom—amnesty. Women, mothers, the young and the old, come out into liberty, to life. Everyone gets his chance. However, the children do not fall under this act of charity. Sentenced by no one, they also await forgiveness from no one.

There are wonderful, touching stories. A difficult boy, a hooligan, after serving in the army or marrying, had pulled through and came to the halfway house to say, with all his heart: "Thank you." There are such cases,

there really are. But do we know the fate of the others? Somebody, of course, has the statistics, but does not seem to want to share them, perhaps because they far from good? Is it that happy endings to sad stories are rare? There are things even worse than walking in formation. "At the school, everyone is only out for himself, more than anyone else. You do not make friends there. There, everyone hates each other," acknowledges Natasha. Really, how can we put such children together! The laws which these children are setting up are not merciful and are as far removed from the laws of love, as the earth from the heavens...

Where are our children?

There they are—ours, not some stranger's—collecting cartons for dietetic eggs, playing soccer and reading books on command. Is it possible to claim that at least someone knows for certain how to save them? Yet we hear no disputes.... There is only an unspoken recognition of the fact.

Where are our children? In which distant edge of our consciousness, of our souls can they be found? And what can be done to move them over into the very center, closer to our hearts?

What should be done? The most simple, most obvious things—first, the facts must be disclosed. We must make this information public property. How many children have no parents? Where do they live? How do they live? The truth may turn out to be bitter, but, without knowing it, it is useless to think of changing the situation for the better. Secondly, we should increase the rights of people who wish and are able to adopt children, not only the infants but also the older ones. We must give course to the natural and wonderful feeling of charity abiding in many hearts. Thirdly, we ought to think about organizing family-type children's homes. Other countries have done this. For such children's homes, the government could make housing and funding available to people who are willing to devote their lives to raising orphans. Let one family of children from different age and ethnic groups live in one big house. We have and can certainly find such citizens, prepared to carry this burden honestly and selflessly.

We ought to know where to find the children we have lost.

[caption] This is Svetlana in the photo. If only she would smile. A moment ago the verdict was passed on her: her grandmother, the last relative with the right to take responsibility for her (her parents long ago lost this right), had refused to come for her. The special school awaited. "No," screamed Sveta. "No! No! I will run away! I..."

I do not have the strength to repeat precisely what she screamed.

13362

### USSR: Armed Serviceman Runs Amok; Questions Remain

PM140945 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Dec 87 p 4

[Special correspondent S. Sadoshenko report: "Shots by the Sea"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] This story relates to last summer, but even now, almost 6 months later, it is not completely clear how the business concluded...

Yevpatoriya-sevastopol—early in the morning of 9 July the telephone rang in the Yevpatoriya City Militia Department duty unit. An agitated male voice said that his "Moskvich" had been stopped by a stranger at the turnoff for the village of Popovka in Sakskiy Rayon and, threatened with a firearm, he had been forced to drive to Simferopol. The frightened owner of the "Moskvich" dropped the bandit on the outskirts of Yevpatoriya, claiming that he was out of gas. The bandit was in a great hurry, he became agitated and, taking all the money the driver and his comrade had on them—R13—HE made off.

On receiving the call the city militia department duty officer immediately went into action. Militia Senior Sergeant S. Boretskiy, mobile militia group driver, and Sergeant I. Tulyuk had just finished their shift and were about to go off duty after a sleepless night, but orders are orders and a few minutes later their automobile was at the intersection on the road out of the city.

...The seashore and the smooth highway with no sharp bends in it—yet between them there is a narrow strip of shore virtually choked with the cars and tents of people of vacation. The squad car pursued the bandit for 6 km at a speed of 100-120 kph, but the latter, as if not hearing the commands to stop broadcast over the loudspeaker, forced the driver of the "Zhiguli" to drive the automobile hard toward Simferopol. When he realized that he could not get away he opened fire.

Bullets shattered the squad car windshield. S. Boretskiy was wounded twice—in the arm and in the leg. When the militia "jeep" drew level the criminal shot I. Tulyuk almost point-blank and wounded him in the arm. Eleven hits were later counted in the two militiamen's bullet-proof vests. They did not shoot, for fear of injuring the driver of the "Zhiguli" and people by the roadside.

All the same the "Zhiguli" did not escape. In avoiding a collision with the mobile militia group it swerved to one side and got stuck in the sand. The man jumped out and, brandishing a submachine gun, hijacked a truck with a trailer that was pulling out of the parking lot. Riddled with bullets, the squad car could not pursue him any

farther. S. Boretskiy, bleeding profusely and hopping on one leg, stopped a passing motorcycle and continued the chase. I. Tulyuk, fighting back the pain, stopped the traffic on the highway.

Unable to drive the truck, the bandit overturned the trailer. Noticing S. Boretskiy approaching and Militia Sergeants S. Ryzanov and I. Dmitriyev, rushing to the rescue, he lay in wait in the bushes and opened fire. Five hundred meters separated him from the "Pribrezhnyy" boardinghouse, where approximately 5,000 people were on vacation. People watched the shoot-out inquisitively, presuming that a movie was being shot.

For the last time the bandit was asked to give himself up. Shots were his response. Then the order was heard: "Shoot to kill!"

Boretskiy and Tulyuk have now recovered. They have come to a militia secondary specialized school to study. The Komsomol Central Committee awarded them "Military Valor" decorations. At the end of November a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree awarded them Red Star orders. We could probably call a halt here and publish materials about the militia's efficient actions, as indeed certain newspapers have done. But questions which at that time were unanswered remain. The criminal proved to be a serviceman, V. Popov. How had he been able to take a submachine gun with live cartridges off limits? What measures have been taken to prevent a similar occurrence?

A month later (a sufficient period, I thought, to conduct an investigation), I put these questions to Black Sea Fleet Prosecutor V. Krotenkov in a letter. I have not received an answer.

Later, journalist business once again brought me to the Crimea. It turned out that people there well remember the July shooting. Moreover the most fantastic rumors are flying around. But even the Yevpatoriya party gorkom did not know what measures have been taken, not to mention the inhabitants of this and other cities in the Crimea.

I tried unsuccessfully to meet with V. Krotenkov. Alas, I only managed to speak to the prosecutor on the telephone. Viktor Aleksandrovich said at first that he had not received any letters from me and that he did not remember the events in Yevpatoriya. Then he advised me to... do what other newspapers have done: round off this story by speaking about heroic militiamen. When I brought the conversation around to the glasnost which is gathering pace in our country, the fleet prosecutor remarked that if an order came down from a higher authority then we could talk about it.

Ordering glasnost is something new. But it is apparently worth giving V. Krotenkov just such an order if the prosecutor himself does not understand that we do not want to worm out military secrets but just curtail unhealthy rumors about procedures in the fleet.

### Leading Sociologist Discusses Attitudes Toward Marriage, Family

18300084a Moscow STROITELNAYA GAZETA  
in Russian 12 Nov 87 p 4

[Interview by STROITELNAYA GAZETA correspondent Lyubov Volkova with sociologist and Doctor of Historical Sciences N. Bestuzhev-Lada: "What Makes Women Happy"]

[Text] [Question] Igor Vasilyevich, a letter from Galina S., in the Moscow area, "Why I Am Not Married," published in STROITELNAYA GAZETA on 16 July of this year, provoked many responses from readers. For some, she is a comrade in misfortune. "This is a social phenomenon," our readers assert. "Do you know how many women, smart, pretty, career women, are staying single these days?" writes L. Surmiy, veteran of labor from Vinnitsa. "The problem must be solved on a state scale (and through the newspaper as well), and not brushed aside in the old manner." Other readers—the male half—acknowledged: "I am single too"...

[Answer] There is nothing surprising in this. The structure of the family is changing. What is known as the extended family, of the old type with a strongly patriarchal way of life, predominated in our country comparatively recently. It was a production collective, a school for children, and a preserver of traditions and customs. Public opinion looked after their observance strictly: if you don't observe them—you stand out like a sore thumb.

What was getting married like then for men and women? Why, very simple. for a young woman of 18, the first bell had already sounded. After 20—it was all over. Either she was married or she was an old maid. For a young man, the limit was slightly longer, but all the same, if he was still not married after age 20, a rumor would go through the village: "bachelor," and this was very offensive: "bachelor" meant not a full-fledged man. And if he was not married by age 25—that's it—he was a solitary man (Gerasim from "Mumu").

But what has happened now? A "whirlwind" has been stirred up by the social consequences of scientific and technical progress. And by the very large urbanization—that is, the resettling of tens of millions of people from villages and small towns into major cities. It turned into a revolution: now two-thirds of the population lives in cities.

[Question] But is it really a bad thing that we have spread out into apartments? More comfortable, better conditions for family life.

[Answer] Other problems arose. In the old type of family, a child was prepared for the role of father or mother from birth. By the age of 14, he already knew everything he needed to know. This young woman here is pleasing, she is industrious, but that one is not. In addition, he was helped on all sides by dozens of people—not matchmaking men and women (that was yet to come!), but the people with whom he had relations, who conversed with him, and from whom he learned what was good and what was bad. It would seem to him that he himself had selected Glasha, rather than Masha, it never entered his head that indoctrinational work was being done with him, accurately leading him toward what was necessary. So he got married and—there were no divorces. There is no returning to this.

But here is the problem: after resettling in the cities, it became, it turns out, very difficult, psychologically difficult, to make acquaintances and to get married. We have abolished the old social mechanism, but we have not yet created a new one.

[Question] Readers write that certain “hopeful suitors” go to “singles clubs” with far from the best intentions.

[Answer] “Singles clubs” are truly an outrage. Psychology again. Our psychology is patriarchal. Under the old system, all women were neatly divided into three categories: girls (before marriage), married ladies (after), and tarts (neither girls nor married ladies). It is with this world view that we have arrived at modern times.

And so, people go to “singles clubs.” A normal man is inhibited here. And a woman simply cannot raise her eyes, because as soon as she lifts them, she feels like the archetypical “tart,” and that is that. It is a very serious thing. What then do the sociologists suggest? Close the clubs? No. Because for many people they are the light at the end of the tunnel, even in this form.

[Question] But isn't it better to turn to marriage advertisements?

[Answer] In the Baltic region, for example, nearly one out of every four families begun after age 30 got together through a marriage advertisement in the newspaper. It is not easy to decide to advertise, but we are turning to this. In our mail there is a letter from a woman who lives with her son in the little town of Mozhga. At first she was too inhibited to meet men because she was too young, and later—because she was old (at age 34!). She was afraid of gossips and tattlers. The advice she got was to put a marriage advertisement (anonymously) in a different city.

And the most effective and delicate form of meeting people is still clubs based on particular interests. It makes no difference what interest it is: movies, dog-breeding, cactus-raising, travel. The main thing is that

people meet each other to pursue some interest other than the matrimonial one. Furthermore, life itself demonstrates that in order to like one another you have to do things together.

Professional introduction services. Everything here is still in the future: there are neither specialists nor offices. But trial, experimental introduction services already exist in the Baltic region, in Leningrad, and in Moscow (a thousand individuals are waiting in line for the service here). In selecting partners, a personal file is necessary, and they are now trying to create it. No methodology has been worked out yet. One specialist has created a file—235 questions on a questionnaire. You sit down for a whole day, sometimes even several days, filling it out. Then they give you this file. But after all, you are a human being, and human beings respond to overall patterns, in an intuitive way. Sometimes somebody walks by, and it seems—what a loser—but you're crazy about him. Or about her. That is human nature. But it is not human nature to fall in love while paging through a questionnaire.

[Question] You spoke earlier about the demographic situation in the country—that is, about the objective aspect of the problem. And now—about the subjective....

[Answer] First, some advice to young people: don't be in a hurry. Youth is the very happiest time of life. These years should be cherished. Of course, you can come together, part, and so forth. It's just the same as if a whole ruble note is changed for small change. That's all. This means the first admonition is to make a cult of just these years.

[Question] But they write: proud young women stay single, and the downtrodden ones get married.

[Answer] Well, that is the way it is.

[Question] Then what should we advise them?

[Answer] It is not necessary to spend 10 years getting acquainted. It is said that in order to know a person well, it is necessary to eat a pood of salt with him. A certain pedant sat down and calculated it: if a teaspoon per day is taken, then it will require 1.5-2 years. This is the optimal time period. Then you will have a good, close-knit family for your entire life.

[Question] But then we get some letters which say: “But what if you haven't met someone you love? What then? Don't you think that it is immoral to get married for any other considerations but love? ‘The personality, yes. But not family happiness....’” (V. Pronina, Baku). “You can't ask young women to marry just anyone who proposes. This leads to the formation of nonviable families, which increases the number of lonely people—already large enough without that” (G. Zaytseva, Vinnitsa).

[Answer] We have deceived ourselves. Supposedly, marriages used to be made under compulsion, while now it is believed that we should marry a man or a woman for love. This is self-deception. Everything depends on how love is understood. Love is a complex concept. It is a scale whose highest point is not at all what we think it is. That point is when another person's life becomes much dearer to you than your own. A typical example: mother and child. A mother might give up her life for the sake of her baby. This is also love. It sometimes happens that a woman becomes this sort of love for a man. For example, Carmen for Don Jose, Manon Lescot for the cavalier de Grille. What a tart, for goodness' sake, and his life was hateful to him. Love is a colossal misfortune which falls on a person. But a "misfortune" in quotes. There is a suspicion that this is real life, when all of you is for another person. But this happens very rarely.

Further on, lower on the scale, come weaker and weaker feelings, and at the very bottom—something which we also sometimes call love. In actual fact it is attraction. Attraction is very human—like it or not, a person is saddled with sexual attraction. And this can grow into a stronger feeling.

You like a person, he has shortcomings and everything like that, but you like him. Your heart is pumping. Connect your brain with your heart and try to coexist with him. If the two of you work together—he gets rid of his shortcomings and you get rid of yours, then you will be happy. Do not wait for someone else, but get married to a person that you like, and let the two of you try to find ways to approach each other.

[Question] "Once you get used to it, you'll like it?"

[Answer] Not "once you get used to it, you'll like it," but completely different words are appropriate: mutual consideration, mutual understanding. And then all will be well. Don't go out of your minds for one another, and then you will be friends, then you will be like Gogol's "Old-Fashioned Landlords," and you will have love. Call this love, or call it a jug, you will be happy. But four conditions must all be met for this.

First: No drugs. A drug—any drug, even smoking—arouses repugnance, and alcohol all the more so. And I am not even talking about drug addicts. Any drug—from nicotine to hashish—is the enemy of the family.

Second: It is preferable for you to make your own place to live. Right now, things are very difficult with housing. Then find some way to live harmoniously with your parents—or your husband's or wife's parents.

Third: Don't take a free ride at the expense of those who are close to you. That is, don't be a parasite. Try to take the very worst job on yourself. Both of you try. And all will be well.

And fourth: Observe family ethics. Formerly, ethics were all based on the domestic order. Now, millions of families have acquired a different set of ethics, based on "ad hoc" principles—translated literally, "for a given instance." The head of the family changes according to the situation. These days, a good family must be founded on equality.

So these are the four "trifles" which will save you from loneliness.

[Question] And one last letter. From a single mother-to-be, 27 years old, divorced with no children. She does not expect to succeed in finding a husband, but she doesn't want to live alone. She decided to have a child. She left her apartment to work as a land surveyor on a construction site.

[Answer] This action deserves great respect. It is of no great significance whether she is married and creates a family or does it without a husband. It will be a family just the same, even if it is not a two-parent family. And they are none the worse, and no scorn is possible. We have millions of them, one family out of every seven is a single-parent family. The child? He will give to you the fullness of life.

12255

### Parents' Responsibility for Juvenile Crime Examined

18300076 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by A. Ruslanov: "A Fine for Your Son—Often a Substitute for Work on Crime Prevention Among Youths"]

[Text] The old man didn't recognize his apartment—everything in it had been turned upside down. He stood amidst the mess and for a long time couldn't understand what had happened. Then, coming to his senses, he went to the phone and picked up the receiver. At that moment from the darkness of the shaded room he heard a voice: "Mister, don't call the police. We didn't take anything".

The voice belonged to 15-year old Anton Gorshkov.

The owner of the apartment tried to turn on the light and get a look at the one who was talking. However, he wasn't able to do so because the fuses had been removed. But soon the 72-year old man got accustomed to the darkness and, seeing the youth, asked: "Boy, who else is with you?"

Anton's younger brother, 14-year old Andrey Gorshkov, came out of the kitchen, chewing a piece of meat. He looked at the old man indifferently and without fear, and went back into the kitchen to finish eating. He had time

to take a bite out of a tomato, but didn't like it for some reason. Then he took a meat tenderizing hammer out of the kitchen cupboard and came back into the room.

The old man didn't see Andrey. He went to the phone and began calling the police...

He was the youngest—Andrey. He grabbed the handle of the hammer with both hands, raised it high above his head, and hit the old man with all his might. He was aiming for the head, but since the old man had time to turn around and put up his arm, the blow grazed him. He fell to the ground covered in blood, and the young criminals stepped over him in a matter-of-fact way and began searching the room. Feeling that he was losing strength, the old man asked: "Boys, what are you doing? Call the ambulance".

Anton turned around at the sound of his voice, and with a "ferocious expression on his face" which the old man would remember for his entire life, said: "Shut up, or we'll finish you off".

The old man was quiet, and the youths in their haste took only a pendant, a ring, a pair of earrings and a pocket calculator, and then ran out through the window which they had broken...

Vadim Korobeykin will long remember his 16th birthday. On this day, he and his friend Dmitriy Krumanovskiy, in a state of heavy alcohol intoxication, beat up a policeman. Although he was not in uniform, he was in the process of performing his duties. When they began to beat the policeman, he drew his pistol, hoping that the sight of the weapon would stop the youths. However, the weapon made Vadim even more angry. He shouted: "Beat him, he won't shoot..."

We have become accustomed to putting all the blame on alcohol. Yes, the abuse of alcoholic beverages, especially by the youth, does as a rule lead to sorry consequences. But is this the only reason? No, a thousand times no! It is a result, but the cause lies elsewhere...

Twelve-year old A. K. came into the children's-youth section of the city drug treatment clinic voluntarily.

"I want to give up drinking," he told the doctors.

Mental and physical dependence and a desire for alcohol at a young age are especially dangerous. The young people deteriorate before our very eyes. The sense-forming functions of their motives become disrupted. Their "knowledge" motives, for example such as understanding the value of education and a respectful attitude toward their parents and elders, are not transformed into directly active motives. In order for them to prevail, it is necessary for motives to be based in their highest forms on the recognition of moral responsibilities and the tasks which society sets for us. And here, it is necessary for experienced and knowing adults to guide the young

people in a skillful and sensitive way, without infringement on the individual "I", toward the set goal. However, often things are quite different.

Almost all the young people whom we have mentioned do not have a burdensome family history. So the usual formula: the apple doesn't fall far from the apple tree—will not satisfy us. It is simply that a vacuum has been formed around these youths in all spheres of life...

Many parents currently believe that their primary responsibility consists of providing for their children. If their son or daughter is fed, clothed and has shoes, then there is nothing more to ask of them. However, they forget that their offspring is not a small child, but an individual who wants to be treated as a person with equal rights.

And then he goes to school and, God forbid, if he gets a few "D's" in a row, and if he does not behave during class—an opinion will be formed of him which will later be difficult to erase. And he will always be teased both by students and teachers. It is especially sad, we must confess, when the following occurs: the teacher calls the unfortunate fellow a fool in front of the whole class. And that's it—that is for a long time. He loses his customary contacts with the other students. After all, he is a fool, and ultimately such a young person himself begins to believe that he is "ignorant".

His family and his school have rejected him. The youth begins to experience constant psychological and physical discomfort. He seeks to find attention in the street, among those such as him, other youths who have been deprived of a necessary and primary comfort—the comfort of socializing with other human beings in an equal manner.

The further he goes, the worse it gets. In the company of his peers, he must learn to drink and smoke in order to fit in. Some time passes, and the youth becomes part of the group. He feels that the others trust him and are friendly to him. He begins to ditch school and comes home late. His grades drop from "D's" to failures, and he is registered with the inspection on juvenile affairs.

That's it! The public opinion has been formed, and from there the boys follow a well-paved path.

Dmitriy Krumanovskiy was not a bad student until the 6th grade. He was ahead of many of his classmates in his level of development. He wrote poems and composed music. The entire class sang his songs. In the 6th grade Dima's fate changed drastically. He was not getting along with his mother. He went to visit his father in another city, but did not stay long there. When he returned to Leningrad, he began cutting classes and was held back for a second year. Soon he got to know the fellows who hung around the schoolyard. They began to drink and smoke...

Here is a quote from the review report of the inspection on juvenile affairs: "D. Krumanovskiy has been registered with the inspection in April 1984 for the crime which he committed..."

Dmitriy and his friends broke into the warehouse of one of the enterprises and stole some tools. Krumanovskiy was the ringleader, despite the fact that he was the youngest in the group. At that time, Dima had not yet turned 14. He was not the subject of the crime, and therefore was not brought to criminal responsibility, but rather was registered with the inspection on juvenile affairs.

The review report states: "Krumanovskiy consumes alcoholic beverages and has repeatedly been detained for loitering in the street after 9:00 o'clock. He gathers younger children and those his own age around him, and has a negative influence on them." Krumanovskiy has been talked to repeatedly by the rayon procurator and the rayon internal affairs administration. He has repeatedly been given official warnings about the inadmissibility of his antisocial behavior and has repeatedly been called before the rayispolkom commission on juvenile affairs.

Now he is sitting across from Inspector M. L. Kuznetsova of the Smolninsk rayon internal affairs administration and giving testimony on the case of the beating of the militia worker. His testimony is contradictory. Dmitriy is dodging, trying to get out of it, but the experienced investigator who has long worked with juvenile criminals, quickly gets him to "come clean". After a few minutes, Krumanovskiy says: "I admit that I am completely guilty".

"Most of all I blame myself for what happened," says the youth's mother. "I knew that it would end in this. I have waited for this moment for 3 years".

I must admit that this statement by the parent seemed almost outrageous to me. How can a mother wait to have her minor son put in jail? But then, after a long conversation with her, I understood all her pain and fear for the fate of her beloved son.

"I couldn't do anything with him. He would leave the house late at night and often return in the mornings. Sometimes he would smell of alcohol. Dima stopped listening to me. When he committed his first crime, he was registered with the inspection on juvenile affairs. However, the entire time that he was registered with them, the inspection workers did no more than talk to my son and send inspectors out to the house. However, they usually came when my son was not at home. They asked me if Dima was going to school, what he was doing, and whether he was drinking or not. The questions were always the same. After they asked a certain number of questions, they would leave. Several times they summoned me together with my son to the ispolkom commission on juvenile affairs, and always

told me that I was guilty for letting my son get out of hand. The commission usually concluded the meeting by exacting a promise from my son to behave, and levying a fine against me..."

That was the situation. The workers of the institutions called upon to save troublesome youths limited themselves merely to preventative talks, preached morals until their mouths became sore, and condescendingly patted them on the shoulder. And the youth, when summoned together with his mother to the state institution, would sharply alter his behavior. He understood that he had to act differently here—to say yes, to agree, to make a guilty face and promise to correct his ways. That is what he did. And then, when he left the office, immediately left his mother and returned home only the next morning, or maybe in several days.

What can we do for such a person to change the stereotypes and habits which have been formed? I believe that we must now change the methods of operation of all those organizations which are responsible for the fate of difficult youths. Today it is not enough to limit ourselves to conversations and inspections, to reprimands and to "collections" of promises. The internal world of the child is not so much complex and contradictory as it is emotional. And so we must act on his emotions and find ways to his heart.

After all, it is no accident that the brothers Gorshkov and Vadim Konovskiy find themselves on the bench for the accused. The crimes which they committed are links in the same chain. Their tragic fates are the result of our indifference, our inability or unwillingness to pay timely attention to the aspirations of these young people.

Why, I often ask myself, have we grown accustomed to speaking with children in a standard manner, to telling them about the evils of alcohol and smoking, for example, in a hear-say manner. We tell the children that alcohol will bring them to no good. We speak in borrowed phrases: if you drink, we say, you won't be a person and your children will be freaks. But they don't care a whit for such teachings. They are young and they aren't thinking now about their future career or about their unborn children. In wine the youths now see a means of self affirmation, a way of feeling grown up and independent. Therefore, I believe that we should show, and not explain, to difficult youths. We should show them the abomination of drunkards from the inside. When we take children on field trips, acquainting them with the beautiful, we often think that this really is life, that this is culture. But these concepts are all-encompassing. They also include a knowledge of the seamy sides of life, about which we either prefer to keep quiet or to tell didactically. I don't think this is a wise or far-sighted approach. And maybe it would be better if we take boys and girls, at least those who have already acquired a taste for alcohol, to sobriety and drug rehabilitation centers and show them people who have let themselves sink to

the level of animals, and tell them that each of us can expect to be in such a state. Maybe then they would have second thoughts and understand that drinking really is bad...

No, this is, of course, not a panacea and will evoke a negative reaction in many people. And, after all, the youths will not stop drinking right away. The crimes committed by minors will not end immediately. Nevertheless, this is one of the forms of effectively influencing the emotional make-up of young people. And if the surprise visits conducted by IDN [Inspection on Juvenile Affairs] officials and preventative interviews are combined with the new non-standard methods of work, I believe this will bring more benefit. After all, it is no accident that the level of drunkenness among the youth is not declining. In the 8 months of the current year, militia workers have detained over 4,000 minors for violations of alcohol legislation! The figure is impressive, and forces us to think. But merely to think and to work in the old manner is not enough. We must restructure the style of our work and augment it with new forms, and we must do this as soon as possible.

In conclusion I must add that the names of some of the youths mentioned in the article have been changed. Several of the cases are still under investigation.

12322

**Moscow Daily Lambasts Activist for Invalid's Rights**

18000153 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 87 p 3

[Letter with Commentary: "A Wounding of the Conscience"]

[Text]Invalid Yuriy Ivanovich Kiselev was treated in our department of endocrinology twice within 2 years. It is not so simple to come to us for treatment. Many patients wait their turn for a long time. But Kiselev, as an invalid, experienced no difficulties in being admitted to the hospital. After considering the application of his polyclinic at his place of residence, the hospital admitted Kiselev at a time that suited him.

When Yuriy Ivanovich first appeared in the department, everyone treated him with understanding and warmth and tried in every way to make his stay in the clinic easier. Once he got acclimated, he began to enter into conversations, in which he sought to denigrate everything that we have been proud of since childhood. The patients themselves and the medical personnel gave Kiselev a sharp rebuff but we did not forget, however, that we were dealing with a sick person and an invalid as well. And when that same Kiselev requested that we help him obtain a pass to a resort for further treatment, we obtained through the administration of our hospital the allocation of a free pass to the sanatorium at Zheleznovodsk (by the way, there are only a few such passes

allocated to Moscow). We wanted to believe that a person understands the goodness emanating from the warmth with which people surround him and will himself become better. As far as we know, the people at the sanatorium dealt with Kiselev with understanding and concern. He was grateful to the colleagues at the clinic.

In October of this year, Yu.I. Kiselev again came to us for treatment. We again were very attentive to him. And again we were surprised by the hatred and rage with which this person spoke about our country and everything Soviet. Not becoming embarrassed in the least, he declared with pride: "I am against the Soviets! I am well known in the West! Listen to the voices from the West!" And he once tuned the radio receiver to the wave of some "voice" that was broadcasting about the "Moscow artist and fighter for human rights Kiselev, whom the authorities beat and persecute." And he told about this broadcast to those who had not heard it.

We had to hear a lot of filth from him with our own ears. All attempts to express our disagreement with him evoked insulting attacks on his part.

How should one relate to this? Yes, the time has come for glasnost and the democratization of the society. But it seems that this process is also being used by ignoble people singing with the voices of others. Whom do these Kiselevs want to please? Do the relatives and acquaintances of Yuriy Kiselev and the public know about his views?

We people of medicine swore the Hippocratic Oath and will treat a person regardless of his views and behavior. But we also have a right to demand respect for our human dignity.

A.I. Nagornyy, A.S. Segal, T.G. Shamrayeva and other workers at the city clinical hospital No 50 (a total of eight signatures).

At the request of the editor's office, representatives of the public of Voroshilovsk Rayon—from DEZ No 4, polyclinic No 115, and invalids—visited the home of Yu.I. Kiselev, who lives at 16 Marshal Zhukov Prospect. Yu.I. Kiselev did not let them in his apartment and the conversation took place at the stairwell. After again repeating his favorite phrase: "I am against the Soviets!", Yuriy Ivanovich nevertheless did not deny that the state and public were attentive to him. In particular, he expressed his gratitude to the medical personnel of polyclinic No 115 and hospital No 50 as well as to the Pioneers-Timurovtsy of school No 100, who help him and his very old mother. And he again finished the conversation with phrases full of hatred for Soviet authority.

The name of Yu.I. Kiselev is known in some circles abroad in connection with his work in the so-called "defense of rights." Articles in which he presents himself

as a fighter for the rights of invalids in the USSR have frequently appeared on the pages of such anti-Soviet publications as POSEV and RUSSKAYA MYSL.

Who is Yu.I. Kiselev? Having fallen under a street car in his youth, he lost both legs. He finished the Stroganovskoye Academy. He is receiving a pension of 80 rubles. The 55-year-old Yu.I. Kiselev was not cheated out of housing: he and his mother occupy a comfortable three-room apartment. Nor would it seem that Yuriy Ivanovich has any reason to be offended about a lack of attention to the state of his health. A number of documents presented at the request of the editor's office indicates this. There is the statement of Yu.I. Kiselev requesting help in being hospitalized in the department of andrology of the city clinical hospital No 50. There is the intercession of the administration of this hospital "on the allocation of a state-budget permit to Yu.I. Kiselev for continuation of treatment at the clinic of the Pyatigorsk Research Institute for Health Resort Treatment." And here are the contents of still another document that, as one customarily says, is written as ordered by the heart:

"I am infinitely grateful to the administration and personnel of the clinic for their prudent and humane attitude toward all of the whims of my organism, including for the separate room with the wonderful balcony and much more, without which any time of treatment would be somewhat difficult.

"Thank you, sincerely yours,

Yu. Kiselev. 3 March 1987."

This was written after the treatment.

Just a few days after that, however, the radio station "Voice of America" reports on the appearance in the West of an appeal of a so-called initiative group for the defense of the rights of invalids in the Soviet Union, which was turned over to the press by the foreign representative of this group V. Fefelov.

This document, signed by "Yuriy Kiselev, founder and for many years leader of the group," states: "We invalids attest through our own bitter experience that the Government of the USSR is concerned least of all about our fate." What is this, Yuriy Ivanovich, hypocrisy? Or does one hand not know what the other is doing? It is somehow difficult to believe that the appeal was published without your knowledge.

We informed L.S. Vakhtina, V.P. Yevstifeyev and N.F. Chigarentsev, activists supporting the establishment of a city society of invalids, of these facts. Here is what they thought of the actions of Yu.I. Kiselev:

"As far as we know, Yuriy Ivanovich is speaking on behalf of Soviet invalids but no one authorized him to do so, at least no one from among the Moscow invalids. So

who is he representing, if no one is behind him and almost everyone refuses to support him? There are, however, people with whom Kiselev is closely linked and in complete agreement. They include the fairly well-known Valeriy Fefelov, about whose joint activities we are familiar. Fefelov left the USSR for political reasons, is now living in the FRG and presents himself as a representative of Soviet invalids abroad, who, as far as we know, has also not been authorized by anyone to do so. At the end of September of this year, Central Television showed a film on him, where Fefelov's ties with the NTS and Western radio voices were directly mentioned."

Yuriy Ivanovich thinks that the problems of Soviet invalids must be resolved somewhere beyond the borders of our homeland. He has tried to present himself as a fighter for our rights while distorting the facts and resorting to direct lies. There are indeed longstanding and grave problems in the situation of invalids. They include difficulties in their daily life and complications in finding suitable employment and with medicine and transportation. But we need to resolve these problems ourselves within the scope of the laws of the Soviet State. And helping to resolve these problems are people interested in providing real help and not in creating a name for themselves in the West.

The activists went on to say that they can present specific examples. V. Lizunkov and V. Panov are perfecting the design of prostheses. G. Guskov is working on a lightweight wheelchair, Prof A.P. Lifshits is developing a system for medical rehabilitation, and circus artist V. Dikul is helping many people to "get back on their feet." A sports movement is developing among invalids and friendly ties are being established with the invalids of other cities.

And what contribution are you making to this, Yuriy Ivanovich, besides unhealthy agitating? You are presenting yourself as a martyr persecuted for the "truth" and you make no mention at all of what Soviet authority is doing for you. With one and the same hand, Kiselev writes slanderous statements against our country and notes of thanks to health-care workers and Pioneers-Timurovtsy. Perhaps, utilizing his ties in the West, he will tell of this attention from the state and society? For they pay even more attention to him than to many others of our invalids.

We earnestly ask you, Yuriy Ivanovich, the activists demanded, to speak out in your own name only and never to hide behind the general problems of Soviet invalids to oblige the selfish political interests of our Western protectors.

**From the editor's office.**

There are problems and there are those who wish to profit from them. There are difficulties in providing for the needs of invalids but there is also more attention by

the state and society to these problems from year to year. There are people who strive with all their hearts to alleviate the fate of those who have suffered and who are physically restricted and there are speculators suffering from a wounded conscience. Kiselev is clearly one of the latter.

9746

**Kirghiz Officials Meet On Antinarcotics  
Propaganda**

18300110a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in  
Russian 13 Dec 87 p 4

[KirTAG report on meeting of KiSSR Coordinating Council for the Struggle Against Drug Addiction, held in Frunze on 10 December 1987: "Numbers Are No Substitute For Real Work"]

[Text] It is not the quantity of measures taken, but rather their quality and effectiveness, which should be the standard by which drug abuse prevention work is judged. The infamous barrage of organized lectures, discussions, television and radio broadcasts should not exclude real work with real people. It was from this standpoint that greater activism in propaganda and preventative work with the public was discussed at a meeting of the KiSSR Council of Ministers Coordinating Council for the Struggle Against Drug Addiction, held in Frunze on 10 December.

Delivering reports on the status of work to increase antinarcotic propaganda were Zh. Sharshenaliyev, minister of higher and secondary specialized education, E. Abdukarimov, deputy chairman of the KiSSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and K. Kyshtobayev, deputy chairman of the board of our republic "Znaniye" Society.

Recently the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting put together more than 50 television and radio broadcasts of an antinarcotic nature; some of these have drawn a positive response from viewers. In addition to our own movie and television productions, films in nationwide distribution are also being shown.

However, as was emphasized at the meeting, it is important that we work energetically to improve the quality of these broadcasts, to make them more convincing, easier to understand and more effective. Unfortunately, many aspects of the struggle against drug addiction have still either not been reflected in broadcasts or have been dealt with superficially, by persons who are not experts in their subject. There has not been a single continued broadcast as a follow-up to events.

K. Kyshtobayev began his account with an optimistic report concerning the number of plans and measures which have been drawn up, the number of seminars conducted and lectures read. However, when asked by members of the republic Coordinating Council to list the

most active, competent "Znaniye" lecturers on antinarcotic topics, he could not come up with a single name. The following extremely important information was also not provided: which labor collectives, general and specialized schools and VUZs are currently in the worst situation in terms of the drug situation, and where the most experienced lecturers should be assigned.

"We merely comply with the requests of the 'Znaniye' Society's primary organizations; they are the ones who decide which lecturers they require and when," replied the speaker in response to this question.

Our republic Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education is also not sufficiently in control of the situation with regard to the anti-drug struggle, despite the fact that at VUZs and tekhnikums lectures are being given, discussions of articles in the press are being held and drug information posts are in operation. In the future (once again, somewhere in the future!) the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education plans to draw up a program called "Young People's Leisure Time" in conjunction with the KiSSR Komsomol Central Committee and the KiSSR Vocational Education Administration.

At its meeting the Coordinating Council noted that the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the board of the "Znaniye" Society have not taken adequate steps to intensify the struggle against drug addiction in our republic, and it pledged them to increase their efforts in that direction. A decision was also made to establish a sociological group to study the causes of the spread of narcotics and toxic substance abuse among various segments of the population, expose dangerous breeding grounds and channels for the origin of this dangerous social phenomenon and its interaction with other phenomena, such as alcoholism and prostitution. The objective is to develop scientifically-based recommendations for state and public organs, educational institutions and labor collectives.

As noted at the meeting, Kantskiy and Sokulukskiy rayispolkoms are still not properly monitoring the functioning of their administrative commissions. In those rayons many guilty parties have been sentenced to cash fines but have not paid them. The sum of these unpaid fines is not decreasing, but is instead on the increase. It was pointed out that the KiSSR Ministry of Finance and its local organs have not achieved uncompromising compliance with the law.

The struggle against drug addiction requires well-coordinated joint efforts by state organs and the broad public; that has not become obvious. Mass propaganda and individualized work should go hand in hand, complement each other, and be more energetic and aggressive. These requirements were the basis for the decisions made at the meeting.

M. Aseyinov, first deputy chairman of the KiSSR Council of Ministers, presided over the meeting of the Coordinating Council.

Also attending the meeting were V. V. Sadovskiy and O. K. Gonadze, responsible officials of the CPSU Central Committee, and A. A. Lemeshenko, head of the KiSSR CP Central Committee Administrative Organs Department.

12825

### **Housing, Care Options For Elderly**

18300110b Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 p 6

[Article by T. Aleksandrova: "From the Mailbag: Elderly Parents, Adult Children"]

[Text] Why has there been a great deal of discussion of late concerning worthless children and aged parents who suffer from their hard-heartedness? Has there been a decline in morals? "What negative way of life has created this negative consciousness?" asked one reader. Articles appearing in PRAVDA under the headings "Alone With Old Age" (27 February 1987) and "I Live Alone" (27 July 1987) provoked a flood of letters. More and more elderly people are writing. Their letters vary: some are angry and peevish, some are restrained, dignified and philosophical. And the same idea is common to all of them: old people should live well. That is indisputable. But what does "living well" mean, and how can it be achieved?

Some of those writing demand strict legal, administrative and public measures: "The law should require inveterate egotists to live with their elderly parents." (A. Yefimov, Syzran); "Children who dump their parents in homes for the elderly should be put in jail." (L. Kulik, Lvov); "Such children are a national disgrace, and their names should be published in the newspapers." (V. Bykovskiy, Moscow Oblast). Justified anger. But by taking such measures would we not be shortening the lives of elderly parents? One will seldom find a mother who would want to see her children publicly shamed, even if they cause her many tears.

Another, larger group of readers doubts that it is possible to pass a law which will take into consideration all the diversity of family difficulties and conflicts. For instance, what should be done with a father who ducked his alimony payments for 16 years, but now in his old age feels such love for his daughter and grandchildren that he wants to live only with them, in their tiny apartment? And can a son be accused of hard-heartedness if he lives in a nine-square-meter apartment in the city and cannot take in his mother who lives in the country? "And what if there are two or three elderly people, and one of them bedridden?" readers ask. For many of them the very thought of such a law sparks sharp protests: "Required to live together? What would the atmosphere be in a family

like that?" (A. Rozhkova, Slavyansk); "To force people by law to show sensitivity and attention to their elderly parents is immoral with regard to the parents." (I. Fuks, Moscow).

Some people longingly recall the large families of the past, where things worked out on their own. "Our grandfather was always the first to be seated at the table. He went to the bathhouse first. The youngest son stayed home with him, that was just the way things were done... How different we are from our ancestors, who respected old people and obeyed them." (A. Bondarenko, Lenin-grad) There is an understandable desire to recall roots and good traditions, especially since some of them are still with us. Some peoples continue to have an emphatically respectful attitude toward old people in the family. How do we take care of aged parents here?

We can get an answer to that question by taking a look at the records of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ethnographic Institute imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklay and by talking with scientists. I posed the question to V.I. Kozlov, doctor of historical sciences and head of the institute's Ethnic Ecology Section:

"In Azerbaijan old people, as a rule, live with one of their sons, and the same is true among the Uzbeks. In Abkhaziya it is completely out of the question for an old person to end up in a home for the elderly — that would be a disgrace for all his or her relatives..."

I get the feeling that Viktor Ivanovich does not wish to continue the list or go into details.

"That is not the crux of the problem," he says. "No matter how good or kind such customs may seem to us, we cannot look to them as a solution today. The breakdown of large families in which elders had the commanding role, and sometimes exercised it in a rather despotic fashion, was a socially progressive and necessary process. Now in the West and here in our country the nuclear family has developed. Earlier in the West, later in our country. This is linked to other complex processes: industrialization and urbanization. I think that in this matter it is difficult to neatly separate cause from effect. When studying objective factors, one should not underestimate the subjective, psychological ones, which have had an effect and continue to have an effect. For instance, young people are eager to prove to everyone, and especially to themselves, that they can lead independent lives, especially after they are married. So why not meet them halfway? It would be good if we could intersect with them at some level. But the wife is an only child, and so is the husband. So with which set of parents should they live? In either case some of the old people are going to be left out. Being alone in old age is on a par with other social problems: food supply, housing shortages, service problems, medical care. Old people cannot get along without comprehensive assistance from society. The prevailing opinion that they are parasites is

based on ignorance. During their working lives people produce much more than they require for their own needs. So our veterans have earned our concern for them."

...No, we cannot go back to the times when "grandfather went to the bathhouse first." And the problems of old age must be considered from the standpoint of people living today. Due to an increasing lifespan there are more and more families consisting of four generations, and in those families the 45-50 age group is bearing an excessive burden. And, of course, the brunt of that burden falls on women. The peak of one's professional career coincides with the birth of grandchildren. Young grandmothers are roundly reproached because they do not fuss over the grandchildren as selflessly as before, do not know lullabies, etc. But at the same time she also has parents who are growing old, who are living in a separate home, who no longer need just signs of attention, but real care... The family cannot deal with these complexities without society's help.

Readers have expressed various opinions about what care should be like not only for lonely old people, but also for old people living alone, people who for various reasons cannot live with their children. Construction of convenient, comfortable boarding houses, grocery delivery, apartment cleaning... It is heartening to note that much has already been done in this regard. Special buildings for veterans are being built; these have a complex of social and domestic services (however, there are as yet only a few such buildings). Residential social assistance branch offices have also been opened, and the first regional social service centers for retirees have been established. We must also take into account everything which has been done over the past three or four years at the level of state social policy. However, many vitally important issues are resolved at the local level by local soviets of people's deputies. Any city today will report that one-sixth to one-fifth of its citizens are retirees, but not everywhere is it stated how this has been reflected and will be reflected in the future in plans for social development. But in Kiev the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Gerontology Institute has drawn up a number of recommendations in this regard.

"We have constantly stressed and will continue to stress the need for commissions for retiree affairs under the ispolkoms of local soviets," says Professor A. V. Tokar, the institute's acting director and doctor of medical sciences. "They have been established in some places, but not everywhere. Yet they help study and take into consideration the needs of the elderly, and they have an influence on ispolkoms' decisions. At the level of a city or a rayon the scale is manageable. For instance, one hundred new apartments are assigned, and they are given to young families. Elderly parents stay in their old apartments. Why not give the parents housing near their children, in the same building, in the same section of that building? They will help bring up the grandchildren. And later their children and grandchildren will support them.

This will begin realization of the article in our Constitution which states that children should care for their elderly parents. At the same time it will sharply reduce loneliness and protect the health of the elderly. This is good for people and advantageous to society, which would no longer have to look after a large number of people living alone."

"Or another thing," continues Anatoliy Vladimirovich. "Say a new microrayon is under construction. What will its demographic structure be? Five percent elderly. Let's look ahead five years: will that figure have increased to 20 percent? But has a geriatric clinic been included in the plan? Will the microrayon's hospital have an extended care ward? Will there be space for a health room where a patron nurse from the Red Cross can receive patients and work with the aktiv? How many cafeterias will there be? Is there a dietician in the plan? If statistics from the rayon's chief physician show that 10 percent of the elderly are diabetics, then public food services should take that into consideration. The individual in charge of labor resources should also be given a say. Where will workers be found if 20 percent of the population are retirees? In that respect consideration must be given, in conjunction with the heads of enterprises, to physiological standards and rehabilitation centers which could extend people's working lives."

"Particular attention should be devoted to older rayons, where as a rule there are more retirees. That is where geriatric clinics should be set up. Mass gerontological and geriatric receptions and evenings should be organized, so that experts can answer many people's questions at one time. In conjunction with trade unions attention should be given to clubs for veterans, if possible small ones based on individual interests, where one could listen to a lecture or discussion or drink a cup of tea."

"Major funding is currently being allocated for the establishment of regional medical-social centers, and the idea of such centers should be implemented to the fullest. Each center provides comprehensive services for the elderly: a temporary housing center, where one could live for a month or two, as well as housing on a daily basis; a vocational therapy department; opportunities to meet geriatric specialists, social security workers and lawyers. Sometimes it is important for a person to get advice, and at other times he or she simply needs someone to listen..."

All the things which Anatoliy Vladimirovich mentioned will help solve many problems for the elderly, problems connected with everyday life, health and mental health; they will ease the loneliness from which the elderly so often suffer. Even if someone does live in a family, upon retirement that person may be saddened to note how his or her world has shrunk. And if that person's children live in a different city or get along poorly with their parents, then everything becomes more complicated and alarming: "How will they help me? Who needs me?"

**JPRS-UPA-88-011**  
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**110**

## **SOCIAL ISSUES**

In our country no one grows old without bread to eat, and we also need to ensure that no one need fear loneliness. To do this we need not only funding for social services, but also a

new way of thinking and a modern demographic and gerontological approach to social problems.  
12825

## Factories Harming Environment Moved out of Moscow Area

18000206a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
16 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by A. Blokin: "Plants Leave the Capital"]

[Text] During the 12th Five Year Plan, 40 unsuitable or environmentally harmful enterprises, supply and sales bases, warehouses, and offices have either been moved out of the Moscow limits or have been abolished. Among these are several harmful production facilities belonging to the Kuskovskiy chemical plant of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the Moskhimfarmpreparaty associations of the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, warehouses belonging to the USSR State Committee for Forestry, the Podvodchflot experimental plant, and workshops of the Soyuzvzryvprom trust of the USSR Ministry of Energy. The last to leave the capital was the Transsignalstroy assembly administration and its warehouse, belonging to the Ministry of Transport Construction.

IZVESTIYA's editors have asked the first deputy chairman of the Moscow City soviet executive committee, chairman of the Moscow City planning administration, Ye. Bystrov, to describe this important work in more detail.

"Unfortunately," said Yevgeniy Ivanovich, "there have turned out to be more than a few enterprises in Moscow which, to put it mildly, it was not expedient to locate here, particularly those which did not meet the "cleanliness standards" necessary in the great city. Among the installations which have been removed or abolished during the past two years, 27 have been warehouses, bases, and supply or sales offices, primarily of a transshipping type, which did not directly serve the Moscow City economy. They are subordinate to all-union and republic ministries and departments whose enterprises are spread out through the entire country. The relocation of 14 industrial enterprises, which were fundamentally injurious to the city's ecology, was a real victory over departmental parochialism (in a battle which has been going on for several years).

The work carried out during the 12th Five-Year Plan, has resulted in the freeing of more than 4,500 persons who were formerly employed in the plants and shops that have left Moscow. Almost 30 hectares of city land has been opened up; this will be used for housing and social and cultural construction.

This process is markedly gaining speed. During the preceding 15 years, on the average, 6-8 enterprises, not necessary to the city, left the capital annually. During the past 2 years, there have been 22 and 24 of these, that is, a two-fold increase. This matter will proceed even more

intensively: full economic accountability and the introduction of payment for all types of resources, including labor, earth, water and other resources, will play an important role.

For what purpose, for example, are there 4 (!) institutes of the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry located in Moscow? Two of them are engaged in coal industry machine building, one in automation and still another in long-range planning of coal production. In Moscow and the okrug, as is known, there are neither mines, nor reserves, nor corresponding machine building plants. And slightly fewer than 2,300 persons work these institutes. If these institutes would have been placed a little closer to production facilities, Moscow would have been reduced in size, in terms of population numbers, by almost 10,000 people (counting the families of the workers at these institutes). And, unfortunately, there many such examples.

"The Moscow City soviet executive committee, together with Gosplan, has prepared and submitted to the USSR government new proposals with regard to moving enterprises and organizations out of Moscow. More than 130 installations are to leave the city before the year 2000, in addition to those designated in earlier decisions and, among them, more than half are scientific and technical planning organizations similar to those of which I spoke above'.

[IZVESTIYA] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, What is being done to find new jobs for people who were working at enterprises which have left Moscow?

[Bystrov] According to the 12th Five-Year Plan, 149 installations, occupying a territory of more than 200 hectares and with a total of approximately 18,500 workers, are to be moved out of the city. They will, of course, not become unemployed. There are enough places in Moscow for them to apply their working energies, particularly in the services sphere. But not everybody will want to change a profession to which, perhaps, he has devoted better than a decade. They are working with such people on an individual basis in the rayon work placement bureaus. The most complicated cases are being decided by the city bureau. And, nevertheless, I repeat that we are trying to utilize freed personnel primarily for increasing the production of consumer goods.

[IZVESTIYA] What can you say about the outlook?

[Bystrov] This work will continue until we have introduced necessary order within the city. The problems posed by the Concepts for the Complex Social and Economic Development of Moscow during the Period to the Year 2000, which have been approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, are very precise and serious. Preparation of a draft long-term plan for the development of Moscow over a 15 year period is now being completed. It also includes new proposals for removing

enterprises and organizations from the city during the period to the year 2000. But even this is not the end. Much remains to be done in connection with rebuilding the city center. Preparation of a new general plan for the development of Moscow over next 20 year period also does not remove from the agenda the question of freeing the capital of installations which it does not need.

13032

### **Magadan Land Reclamation Experiments Harm Ecology**

*18000206b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
20 Jan 88p 3*

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent R. Bismukhametov: "Salvoes at the Tundra: The consequences of ill-considered land reclamation work based on draining thermal sinkhole lakes on Chukotka"]

[Text] How well it all started! Almost 20 years ago, young scientific workers at the Chukotsk permafrost station turned their attention to the peculiar tendency of certain thermal sinkhole lakes to self-drain. And then, after a year or two, an arctic miracle would be born. A green oasis — heavy grass — would appear on the dried bottoms of the lakes.

And what if we help the lakes to rid themselves of water and, at the same time, create artificial meadows? The idea quickly collected advocates, as if it had been confirmed by practice. Soon they had drained three bodies of water for the Chukotsk region Severniy sovkhoz. And, in the very first year, each of the 900 hectares individually provided 300 centners of green crops. Then they added the large Lake Aleksandra to their hay fields. There was more to come. The area planted in feed crops reached 5000 hectares. The sovkhoz began not only to supply hay to its own livestock section, but also to sell feed to other farms in the region. The young scientists became candidates and doctors of science. In their recommendations, they maintained that such meadows were capable of working to the benefit of the Chukotsk feed supply for 25-30 years and, after being re-flooded, for the same length of time again.

However, even after several years, the situation changed sharply. The permafrost, with its perfidious nature, did not at all follow the course of these scientific recommendations. The arctic meadows quickly began to be destroyed, harvests fell, the bottoms of the drained lakes turned into swamps and became overgrown with moss. Of its haying fields, for the creation of which millions of rubles had been spent, the Severniy sovkhoz has already lost more than half.

Lake Aleksandra, once remarkable for the beauty and wealth of its flora and fauna is not to be recognized now. At one time, large flocks of geese and ducks fed here, fish of the salmon family fed and quickly put on weight,

white salmon and white flatfish were found in abundance, and various animals lived along its banks. There is not even a trace of any of this now. And, incidentally, there is no hay.

In 1983-1984, brigades of the Magadanvodstroy trust, following the recommendations we already know and in keeping with a plan drafted by the Dalgiprovodkhoz institute, set about draining lakes, located in the valley of Kanchalan and Uglovaya spawning rivers, in order to create new haying lands for the Severniy sovkhoz.

In their work, the Magadan land-improvers deviated in the most gross manner from these recommendations and the draft plan. They "invented" their own method of constructing drainage canals, which made it possible for them to fulfill their plan in a short period of time and to receive awards: with lack of sophistication, they dug deep canals. And a so-called hurricane salvo discharge of water took place from the lake into the rivers. The enormous masses of water carried along with it hundreds of thousands of tons of silt and sand, which covered the bottom of these water bodies in a thick layer, killing the plankton — the basic food supply of the pink salmon, the broad whitefish, the white salmon, and other delicate northern fish.

These salvoes at the rivers of Chukotka have become a subject of intense attention on the part of workers of the Magadan Oblast procuracy and, in particular, of its investigator for especially important cases, V. Skryagin. A legal and ecological commission, comprised of members and specialists, visited the scene and studied the circumstances of the tragedy which occurred there. Its conclusion — that pollution of the rich fish rivers has inflicted enormous damage on the state — is supported not only by documents, but also by the testimony of those who, with their own eyes, witnessed the salvo releases carried out by the specialists in land improvement. There are dozens of such testimonials, but the opinion is the same: the land improvement specialists destroyed the spawning rivers, enormous supplies of fish, and their feeding areas.

But at what then had the members of the state commission, which approved implementation of the draining of the lake and the system of canals, been looking? At paper. Many of them did not even visit the site and signed the act "without looking".

And, nevertheless, the energetic actions undertaken by the procuracy and later also by the regional party committee have forced many people to take a more sober look at the situation that has developed in the Chukotka tundra. This occurred, in particular, at a conference of scientific and practical personnel which was held in Anadyr. Participating in its work were representatives of various scientific, production and public organizations in Moscow, Leningrad, Vladivostok, Magadan, Yakutsk, and Anadyr. Even one of the authors of the project, now a faculty head at the Leningrad Agricultural Institute,

S.V. Tomirdiaro, was forced to admit that the arctic meadows are degenerating. But he blamed the planners and the land improvement specialists for this.

There was no united opinion on this account among the conference participants. Some came out for draining the lakes, and others were categorically against this. However, everyone concurred on a main point: before beginning similar projects, the most serious ecological expertise is needed.

Ecology today, the speakers emphasized, is essentially a matter of high management standards. And, in our story, work on draining the lakes was carried on, from the beginning, almost haphazardly, without basic ecological preparations and without serious consideration of the negative consequences of this work for the natural environment. The technical planners and the land improvement specialists permitted a mass of crude mistakes. There is a particular question concerning the responsibility of the scientists. Everything must be weighed here: what are we dealing with — with an idea which has not justified itself, or with a sensible idea, but one requiring serious adjustments? Science itself must provide an answer to this question.

The Chukotka mistakes by planners and the land improvement specialists cost dearly. But the misfortune is that, judging by everything, lessons have not been derived from them. Plans are being nurtured within the region to create new arctic meadows by means of draining thermal sinkhole lakes. But, perhaps, it is best, at the beginning, to think through and consider everything well, as is demanded by both the spirit and the letter of the just promulgated resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On a Basic Restructuring of Nature Conservation Work Within the Country."

13032

#### **Development, Official Indifference Threaten BSSR's Lake Naroch**

18000179a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by M. Novikov, PRAVDA non-staff correspondent, Minsk: "Following Up On a Resolution By the Republic Council of Ministers: What Is Happening To Naroch?"]

[Text] Naroch is one of Belorussia's 10,000 lakes. It is also the largest — huge, 80 square kilometers in size — a blue gem in a green setting. The water in Lake Naroch was once renowned for its exceptional clarity: a white disk was visible to a depth of 14 meters. Yet today there are virtually no spots that pure left in the lake.

And there were fish here, fish that liked clean water. The most prized in every age was and remains the eel. The lake teemed with whitefish. The very earliest settlers caught pike perch, carp, pike, perch and roach. For

centuries, as we were told by Kazimir Padzevich, a fisherman from the hamlet of Stepenevo, the people around Naroch were nourished by the lake, because the land in their region was not very fertile. And everyone had enough fish, not just for themselves, but also to sell. Yet last year only six metric tons of fish were caught instead of the planned 90 tons.

#### **What is happening to Lake Naroch?**

In 1981, after a series of articles in the press in defense of the lake, the BSSR Council of Ministers passed a resolution entitled "On a Plan for the Comprehensive Utilization and Protection of Water and Land Resources In the Lake Naroch Basin." This was an important resolution, providing for a series of steps toward rational utilization of this gift of nature. Recently a group of Belorussian writers and scientists traveled to Lake Naroch to determine how well the republic government's resolution is being implemented. The impressions of everyone who went were depressing.

The threat to Naroch originated back in 1962, when government departments and trade unions began erecting their spas and recreational centers along the lakeshore. The problem did not lie with the presence of such facilities. The natural conditions of the area make it a pleasant place for people to recreate and restore their strength and health. The problem is the way in which people do that, their attitudes toward nature.

The republic government defined a resort zone, but there is no actual plan for development of that zone. Each entity operates according to its own tastes and capabilities, and those vary in each case. So now along the shore, at the very water's edge, primitive, unattractive buildings have sprung up like mushrooms. The lake bore the brunt of the construction of this network of health resorts. It began to become heavily polluted.

Some planner had the brilliant idea of laying a three-kilometer-long sewage pipe at a distance of five meters from the water's edge! And the builders obediently carried out that harmful plan, and did a poor job of it at that. At least once, and sometimes twice, each year the pipe breaks and its contents flow directly into the lake. Studies by a sanitary and epidemiological station in 1985 showed that the water along the beach contained a large number of *E. coli* bacteria.

The aforementioned resolution by the republic government envisioned a 278-square-kilometer watershed zone around Lake Naroch. The use of pesticides was forbidden within that zone, and it was planned that livestock farms would be relocated outside its boundaries and the structure of agricultural areas changed, with 2,200 hectares of arable land being taken out of production and 176 hectares reforested. All this looked wonderful on paper. But at the present time all the livestock farms have still not been relocated, and as of 1985 not a single kopeck had been allocated for that purpose. The reasoning is

that nature will wait, that there are more urgent needs. And at the present time small-scale construction organizations do not have the capacity to complete the project swiftly.

We puzzled for a long time over why the structure of agricultural lands in the watershed zone has not been changed: as before, row crops continue to be planted there, and chemical fertilizers which wash into the lake continue to be applied. No specific individuals are willing to take responsibility. Neither the former Ministry of Agriculture or the present republic- and oblast-level agroindustrial committees have or are currently taking into consideration the republic government's resolution and have therefore not made the necessary amendments in their plans. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes are forced to operate as before.

The aforementioned resolution mandated the removal of 171 residential structures from a zone 100 meters wide around the lake. Until recently no funds were allocated for that purpose. Recently money was allocated, but only enough to build 90 apartments, despite the fact that 211 families must be relocated.

The adjoining forest plays a tremendous role in the life of the lake. It is the source of all the springs and creeks which feed the lake. The forest cover in the area is not great, only 29 percent, whereas the average forest cover for Belorussia as a whole is 34 percent. So every single tree in the watershed zone needs to be preserved.

"They don't care about trees!" exclaims Leonid Vinogradov, head of the Naroch Forestry Section. "Every year they raise our plan goal for the procurement of building timber and evergreen boughs for vitamin-rich fodder. Whereas 10 years ago we were cutting 500 cubic meters of wood, and deadwood at that, today we cut 1,500 cubic meters of timber. In order to conceal this poaching we cut swaths 12 meters wide, allegedly to reduce the danger of forest fire. My heart aches when I see beautiful pines being mercilessly felled right at the edge of the lake!"

I called Vasily Smantser, the head of the Minsk Oblast Forestry Administration, and asked: "Is there no way to procure the timber and evergreen boughs harvested by the Naroch Forestry Section from some other area?"

Vasily Vasilyevich was taken aback, and admitted that we were not aware of the problem.

"I will send out a specialist immediately to check it out. Of course, boughs should not be harvested there..."

But the problem did not come into being yesterday, nor suddenly. It was referred to in the BSSR Council of Ministers resolution six years ago, yet the oblast forestry administration did not take the trouble to inquire even once as to what was going on at Lake Naroch. As if there were no problem. Maybe because the forest, like the lake, cannot speak. Trees die standing up.

Land reclamation efforts also abet this process. The Reduplyanskoye Swamp lies between the Blue Lakes and Lake Naroch. It is a source of water for the lake. Land reclamation experts have decided to drain that swamp. Not only will this harm the lake, it will also destroy the nesting places of black storks, cranes, black grouse and wood grouse. A complex blow will be dealt to nature. Without stopping to think, without hesitation, taking nothing into consideration. And there is no one to stop or dissuade the zealous proponents of drainage, who have already destroyed dozens of rivers in our republic. No one to say: what are you doing, do not ruin nature! Think what you are bequeathing to our descendants! And not just our descendants — what will we ourselves have left?

We met one of these zealous implementers at a discussion held at the Naroch Settlement Soviet. This was Valeriy Yuganov, director of the Naroch Fish Combine. He began the conversation with the writers and scientists by declaring that he was prepared to turn Lake Naroch over to sport fishermen and give up commercial fishing there, on condition that that body of water be removed from his combine's jurisdiction.

Back in 1981 it had cost us a great deal of effort to make Yuganov remove an electric trawling device from the lake; it used an electric current to kill every living thing that was caught in its electric field. For a time he was forced to remove it, but later returned time after time with this same fishing equipment. By catching the small fry as well, he was killing off the lake's fish resources. Now those resources are pitiful, and it has become advantageous to give up fishing in Lake Naroch: if he does so his plan quotas will be reduced.

And something which was particularly amazing: those who attended the meeting did not see even the slightest twinge of conscience in the director's face.

The plan of measures outlined by the BESSR Council of Ministers resolution is a long one, and we cannot list all its points here. But there is not a single point which has been fully implemented over the past six years.

Poems, stories and songs have been written about this lake; it is the stuff of legends. It is the pride of the Belorussian people. But the present condition of Lake Naroch convincingly proves that neither the higher nor the lower echelons of leadership in our republic are genuinely sympathetic toward ecological issues. It has not been instilled in them, and they are not accustomed to it. This is further confirmed by the logging of the almost unique virgin forest near Nalibokskoye, the many negative consequences of land reclamation, the heaping of manmade mountains of rock and salt on fertile land around Soligorsk, the transformation of tens and hundreds of our most beautiful lakes into swamps, and many, many more things. A consumption-oriented attitude toward nature yields bitter fruit. Is it not time that we put a stop to this negative process?

12825

### Plan To Cut Off Estuary From Black Sea Protested

18000179b Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
29 Dec 87 p 1

[Letter from V. Boychenko, Ye. Golubkova and E. Yanvarev, members of the USSR Union of Writers, G. Yezhelov, member of the Union of Journalists, I. Grasevich, physician, and L. Traspov and Yu. Shuklin, engineers, city of Nikolayev: "For Us and Our Descendants: Why Strangle the Estuary?"]

[Text] Talk about the unprecedented plan to reverse the flow of northern rivers had scarcely died down and the bulldozers had scarcely been turned back from the shores of Lake Baykal when it was learned that in the southern Ukraine a grandiose construction project was being developed in secret, following an unapproved plan which had not been submitted for discussion: a plan for the construction of a dike to cut off the Dnepr-Bug Estuary from the Black Sea.

According to a plan drawn up by the Ukrainian Ministry of Water Resources and Land Reclamation — this came out in the course of investigation — the entry of salt water into the estuary would cease and the flow of fresh water into the Black Sea would be reduced to a minimum. And all for the sake of providing fresh water for irrigation and industrial needs. No matter that the current irrigation system actually results in excessive watering of agricultural land. The more water is in the fields, the more money is in certain pockets, or rather in the ministry's coffers. Also no matter that life requires a rational, economical, ecologically sound solution to the problem. But if a project is rational and economical, it does not make a splash, and one cannot expect to receive either bonuses, or medals, or glory. So why think small? Why just spend tens and hundreds of thousands of rubles drawing irrigation water from small streams, or cleaning out the silt-clogged reservoirs on the Dnepr River, or perfecting the existing system of irrigation channels? Creating something on a grand scale, something which yields immediate, visible results — that gets into the billions of rubles.

What will this gigantic construction project do for the people with whose money it would be built? The estuary would be transformed into a silt-filled, chemical-laden pool. Fish would disappear, including the hard currency-producing sturgeon and the goby, which is already extremely rare. Navigation would become significantly more difficult in the planned reservoir, as marine experts have repeatedly warned with a note of alarm. Sedimentation and shoal formation would inevitably result. Nikolayev Oblast alone loses six million metric tons of soil to erosion each year. And if the dike were built this fertile layer would all settle in the former Dnepr-Bug Estuary.

Naturally, the builders have promised to begin construction of purification facilities in the basins of the Dnepr and the Southern Bug. But, as always, they are not keeping their promises, because so far no one has heard anything about purification facilities along those rivers, although preparations for construction of the dike and construction of a port are already well under way.

The estuary's hydrologic system is being destroyed, and that means that the behavior of ground water will become unpredictable. That presents a direct threat of flooding in the nature preserves of the Kinburskaya Spit and Olviya.

All the negative consequences of the project are still not clear today. It is difficult to predict what will happen tomorrow. Construction of the dike is a tremendous risk. Incidentally, many experts are of the opinion that we are consciously planning an ecological disaster. This was all discussed in Nikolayev in a "roundtable" sponsored by the oblast newspaper YUZHNYAYA PRAVDA. The project (still, we repeated, not approved by any authority, but nevertheless already in the process of realization) has been actively opposed by A. M. Slyuzko, a senior scientist on the Council for the Study of Productive Forces, V. N. Stepanov, a department head at the Odessa Branch of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, V. I. Motsarenko, a senior scientist at the same institute, B. N. Repkin, a senior scientist at the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Southern Scientific Center, O. S. Grinko, director of the Nikolayev Oblast Hydrometric Observatory, A. N. Sotnikova, head of the Complex Laboratory for the Control of Environmental Pollution, M. I. Kuzmenko, doctor of biological sciences and head of the Freshwater Radioecology Department of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Marine Biology Institute, writers in Nikolayev and members of the public.

Unfortunately, there were no authors of the plan, no one to bear direct responsibility for this act of vandalism. But the builders provide an excellent substitute for them: "Amuse yourselves with your civic concern, but we have been building and we will continue to build — you are not the ones who give us our orders." But who is giving them their "orders"?

Incidentally, all the scientists who spoke did not simply reject the plan, but also proposed other alternatives which would please everyone except those who see themselves as the "conquerors" and "transformers" of nature. These proposals include improved agricultural techniques, introduction of drip irrigation and other forms of irrigation which require less water, utilization of scientific-industrial soil cultivation technologies, and a transition in agriculture from the track of extensive development to that of intensive development.

Also pertinent to these matters were, of course, proposals concerning storage of the harvest, cleanup of smaller rivers and their tributaries, and efforts to restore the lost

soil layers. According to the most modest expert estimates, all these steps would cost less than the current project by a factor of about five.

Who should decide the future of the Dnepr-Bug Estuary? Under whose jurisdiction does that fall? One thing is already quite clear: construction of the dike must be halted.

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### **Kirovakan Chemical Plant Reduces Air, Water Pollution**

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[Interview by *KOMMUNIST*'s correspondent N. Mesropyan with director of the Kirovakan chemical plant imeni Myasnikyan: "For Clean Air and Water: One More Harmful Production Facility Is Closed at the Chemical Plant imeni Myasnikyan"]

[Text] The Kirovakan chemical plant was built according to an 8 March 1928 decision of the USSR Main Administration for Chemical Industry Development. The plant was on the list of 518 shock construction sites of the 1st 5-year plan period, and was thus the very first chemical plant not only in Armenia, but in the whole Trans-Caucasus. At that time, the republic and the whole Union desperately needed the future production of the plant, and the plant had been built without a general project. The initial facilities under construction were calcium carbide and calcium cyanamide shops, and a facility for air separation. During the following years, the number of facilities, including those producing harmful substances, was significantly broadened.

Several days ago, a shop producing harmful substances was closed. What caused this decision? The director of the plant, M. Seropyan, answers the questions raised by the *KOMMUNIST*'s correspondent N. Mesropyan.

[Question] Marash Avetikovich, how was such a situation created that forced the plant to take these radical measures today?

[Answer] For almost 60 years of plant existence, the necessity to build purification facilities was almost never discussed. The ministry would not assign funds for environmental protection in spite of the fact that there was more and more smoke over the city and the sludge storage could barely be contained within its shores.

If we add to it technology imperfections, and the moral and physical obsolescence of equipment, the difficult situation which the enterprise had found itself to be in already in the early 70's, becomes obvious. At the same time, it was impossible to modernize the oldest shops,

not because of shortage, for example, of funds, but because the modernization would be a plain waste of money. It is much cheaper to build new shops than to rebuild the old ones.

[Question] It seems that the decision to close the old shops was made based on this reasoning.

[Answer] Yes. In the end of 1985, for example, we closed production of dicyandiamide, melamine dicyandiamide, and one carbide furnace. It allowed us to reduce by over 30 percent discharge of such substances as ammonia gas and calcium carbide and calcium cyanamide dust. The volumes of industrial effluents being sent to the sludge storage were reduced by 400,000 cubic meters per year.

[Question] Of course, 30 percent is a large volume, but it seems that the residents of Kirovakan continued to complain.

[Answer] Basically, these problems were occurring because of the discharges into atmosphere of nitrogen oxides, or as it is called, "fox tail". Since November of this year it disappeared, to the relief of the residents. It happened because we shut down the shops producing weak nitrous acid and ammonium nitrate. There were other results from this measure in addition to the "fox tail" disappearance.

The total amount of discharges is reduced by 3,000 tons per year, and the volume of effluents being sent to the sludge storage is decreased by 1 million tons. In addition, a rectification facility was put into operation, which will have a certain role in environmental protection. All these measures combined allowed us to reduce the discharges into atmosphere and water basin by an additional 40 percent compared with 1985.

[Question] Can we now say that the clean air problem in Kirovakan is basically resolved?

[Answer] Generally, yes. But it would be more honest to say that we still have a very large work to do in this direction. For example, we successfully tested the VZP-400 apparatus in the shop producing melamine cyanurate. When the apparatus will go in service, there will be much less discharges into the atmosphere of carbamide, melamine, and melamine cyanurate dust. I will tell you this: We are determined to do anything that will resolve the former reputation of our hometown as a resort center. 13355

### **New Pollution Control Equipment at Yerevan Chemical Plant**

Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian 6 Dec 87 p 1

[Article by N. Manucharova: "Purification Facilities Are in Service"]

[Text] Purification facilities with a capacity of 3000 cubic meters of water per day designed for the 2nd phase of the enterprise have been put into service at the Yerevan chemical reagents plant.